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Report

v.2 1968

1967

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165-5

Report of the Royal Commission
on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
Volume 2

The President
of the Senate General de Council

The Hon. the Minister of Education
The Hon. the Minister of Health
The Hon. the Minister of Labour
The Hon. the Minister of Social Services

The Hon. the Minister of the
Provincial Government of Ontario

The Hon. the Minister of the

Provincial Government of Quebec

The Hon. the Minister of the

Provincial Government of New Brunswick

The Hon. the Minister of the

Provincial Government of Nova Scotia

The Hon. the Minister of the

Provincial Government of Prince Edward Island

The Hon. the Minister of the

Provincial Government of Newfoundland

The Hon. the Minister of the

Provincial Government of the Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut

Printed by the Queen's Printer

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism



To His Excellency
The Governor General in Council

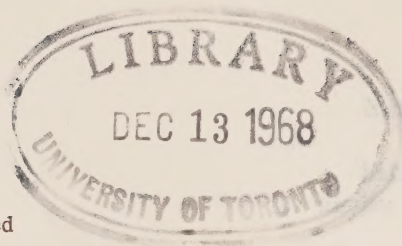
We, the Commissioners appointed
as a Royal Commission, beg to submit
to your Excellency
Volume 2 of our Final Report

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André Laurendeau, Co-Chairman
Clément Cormier, c.s.c.
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Ottawa, May 23, 1968



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Catalogue No. Z1-1963/1-5/2

ROGER DUHAMEL, F.R.S.C.

Queen's Printer and
Controller of Stationery
Ottawa, Canada
1968

André Laurendeau 1912-1968

The death of a man always comes as a shock to relatives, friends, and colleagues. But rare are those whose death leaves a greater void because they were identified with a difficult and critical undertaking. André Laurendeau was such a man. He was one of those whose fate it is to change the course of events. By his very nature he seemed destined for literature, for the arts, and for the work of peace. But very early in his life he was led to play a decisive role in the cultural and political debates which are the reason for the Commission's existence.

André Laurendeau urged the appointment of a royal commission of inquiry on bilingualism in the federal Public Service and then agreed to become its co-chairman and chief executive officer, even though the Commission's terms of reference were much wider than those he had originally suggested. From the beginning, because his heart was in it, he devoted all his energies to the task of clarifying opinions and recommending to those in authority "what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership."

André Laurendeau was an unrelenting witness to the French fact in Canada; at the same time he was conscious of his responsibilities towards the whole country. He was the main-spring of this Commission and every one of us is indebted to him.

For him the final *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* was to be the corner-stone of a Canada in the making, of a new Confederation. He was convinced that if this work was to succeed, it must be rooted in history and reality; he believed it was essential to make every Canadian aware of its practical and attainable character. André Laurendeau was in the House of Commons when Prime Minister Pearson tabled Volume 1 of the *Report*. The unanimous approval of the party leaders, the welcome given to the recommendations, and the thoughtfulness with which the subject was debated were proof that his efforts had not been in vain.

At the time of his death, much of the Commission's work was done: the research, the broad conception of the *Report*, the detailed outlines for subsequent volumes, and the first drafts of several Books. He had been closely involved in the drafting of this one; he had given his assent to the recommendations in it and had intervened wherever necessary to clarify the basic concepts of a language régime on which education in a bilingual and bicultural country must be founded. André Laurendeau did not sign this Book, but it is his as much as ours.

Foreword 3

Part 1 **Official-language Minority Schools** 5

Chapter I **Equal Partnership in Education** 7

- A** **The Implications of Equal Partnership** 7
 - Aims of education 7
 - Equal partnership 7
 - Importance of language 8
 - Educational opportunities 8
- B** **Linguistic Equality in Education** 8
 - Linguistic identity 8
 - Cultural identity 9
 - Equality in education 10
- C** **Equality of Opportunity in Education** 11
 - Development of a system of education 11
 - Education—part of the changing social system 11
 - Universal education 12
 - Education for a technological society 13
 - Education for a democratic society 13
 - Cultural goals 14
 - Specialization in the secondary programme 14
 - Evolution of secondary education in the United States 15
 - Evolution of secondary education in England 16
 - Evolution of secondary education in France 17
 - Similar trends in secondary education 18
 - Post-secondary trends 18
- D** **The Objectives of Minority-language Schools** 19
 - Practical conditions of minority education 19
 - The right of parental option 19
 - Both languages taught 20
 - A fundamental principle 20
 - Provincial co-operation 21
 - Canadian objectives 21
 - Need for bilingual citizens 21

Chapter II **The Development of Education in Quebec** 23

- A** **Introduction** 23

- A uniform pattern in English-speaking provinces 23
- Two separate systems in Quebec 24

- B French-language Education in Quebec 25**
 - The beginnings 25
 - The classical college—a contrast to the high school 25
 - Development of public secondary schools 26
 - A changing system 27
 - Increased responsibility of government 28
- C Protestant English-language education in Quebec 28**
 - A complete education in English 28
 - An autonomous system 29
 - Similarity to public schools in English-language provinces 30
 - The legal framework 30
 - The Jewish minority 31
 - Consolidated school districts 31
 - Teacher training 32
 - Finances 32
 - The issue of compulsory education 32
 - A minority-language system designed by the minority 33
- D Roman Catholic English-language Education in Quebec 33**
 - A third educational régime 33
 - The curriculum 35
 - Influence of the English-language Protestant system 35
 - Teacher training and administrative independence 37

Chapter III The Development of French-language Education in the Other Provinces 39

- A The Broad Trends 39**
 - Lack of concern for French-language minority 39
- B The Historical Context 40**
 - Early developments towards a system 40
 - Public financing of education 40
 - The role of the church 41
 - Two systems 41
 - Local language option 42
 - Certification of teachers 42
 - Religion rather than language 42
- C School Controversies in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island in the 1870's 43**

- New Brunswick 43
- No legal status for denominational schools 43
- Religion rather than language 44
- Language not the main issue 44
- Prince Edward Island 44
- The language issue 44
- D** The Manitoba Schools Controversy 45
 - In the beginning, a dual system 45
 - An official non-denominational system 45
 - Contributing causes 45
 - Legal decisions 46
 - Transition in French-English relations 47
- ✓ **E** The Ontario "Bilingual" Schools Question: Regulation 17 47
 - The place of the French language 48
 - The role of "bilingual" schools 48
 - The schools crisis 49
 - Language rather than religion 49
 - The broader issue 50
 - A second inquiry 50
 - Regulation 17 50
 - Franco-Ontarian resistance 51
 - A modus vivendi 51
- F** Summary 52

Chapter IV

- Education in Quebec: The Present Situation 55**
 - A** Elementary Schools 55
 - Elementary English-language education in Montreal 55
 - Outside the Montreal area 55
 - The Gaspé area an illustration 55
 - B** Secondary Schools 56
 - Secondary English-language education in Montreal 56
 - Outside the Montreal area 57
 - C** Recommendations of the Parent Commission 57
 - The principle of a single provincial system 58
 - The need for reforms 58
 - The role of provincial government 59
 - Recommendations for a new system 59
 - Respect for diversity 60

- The moral rights of the English-language minority 60
- A co-ordinated system 60
- One basic programme of studies 61
- Mother-tongue and second-language teaching 61
- Respect for cultural difference 62
- Recommendations for equivalent diplomas 62
- Cultural and linguistic diversity within a co-ordinated system 63
- Priority for a high standard of education 63
- Suggested compromises for confessionality 64
- Language rights take precedence 64
- A unified administration 65
- Safeguards for the official-language minority 66
- Bill 60 66
- Reaction of the English-language minority 67
- The rights of parents 67
- Regional commissions 68
- Implications of a uniform tax rate 69

D Summary 70

Chapter V French-language Education in the Other Provinces: The Present Situation 73

- "Bilingual schools" 73
- An unresolved question 74

- A Ontario 74
 - Radical legislative changes 74
- 1 Elementary schools 74
 - "Bilingual" schools—a local decision 74
 - A confused language situation 76
 - "Bilingual" and separate schools 77
 - A difficult adjustment 78
 - The parents' attitude 79
 - Academic standards in "bilingual" schools 79
 - The Carnegie study 80
 - Socio-economic factors 81
- 2 Secondary schools 82
 - A difficult transition 82
 - A response to the needs of Francophones 82
 - A question of standards 82
 - Limited career choices 83
 - Grades IX and X in the separate school system 84

- A more difficult transition 86
- Private schools 87
- 3 A comparison of secondary school careers 87
 - Attrition rates 87
 - The socio-economic factor 88
 - Attitudes not a factor 89
 - Academic factors 89
 - Teachers' ratings 90
 - Francophones—the least consistent group 90
 - Possible explanations 91
 - The cultural factor 92
 - A new approach needed 93
- 4 Teachers 94
 - A need for special qualifications 94
 - Lower qualifications in “bilingual” schools 94
 - Too few graduates 94
 - The result of secondary schooling in English 95
 - Lower admission requirements 95
- 5 Universities 96
 - Laurentian University 96
 - The University of Ottawa 97
- 6 Summary 97
- B New Brunswick 98**
 - The Acadian community 98
 - A changing system 98
 - 1 Elementary schools 99
 - Decision of the local majority 99
 - A changing policy 99
 - 2 Secondary schools 100
 - Permissive teaching in French 100
 - The example of Moncton 101
 - Low achievement of Acadians 102
 - The Byrne report 104
 - 3 Teachers 105
 - Teacher qualifications 105
 - Training courses unsatisfactory 105
 - The Deutsch report 107
 - 4 The University of Moncton 107
 - A key institution 107
 - A central role in teacher training 108

- 5 Summary 108
- C The Other Atlantic Provinces 109
 - A regional situation 109
 - 1 Nova Scotia 109
 - French-language teaching introduced 109
 - Instruction in French—preparation for an education 110
 - An isolated régime 111
 - 2 Prince Edward Island 112
 - An English-language system 112
 - 3 Newfoundland 112
 - Limited opportunities 112
 - 4 Summary 113
- D The Four Western Provinces 114
 - A new and diversified society 114
 - Some official recognition for the French language 115
 - 1 British Columbia 115
 - Efforts to retain a degree of French 115
 - 2 Alberta 116
 - Some instruction in French permitted 116
 - Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Alberta 117
 - Increasing opportunities for instruction in French 117
 - An optional programme 118
 - The effects of school consolidation 119
 - A successful experiment in Edmonton 119
 - Teacher training 120
 - 3 Saskatchewan 120
 - A limited status for French 120
 - An optional programme 121
 - Effects of school consolidation 121
 - Saskatoon parents protest 122
 - Some minor changes 122
 - Lack of teacher-training facilities 123
 - 4 Manitoba 123
 - English the official language of instruction 123
 - Local “understandings” 124
 - French-language instruction declining 124
 - St. Boniface—a special situation 125
 - French-language instruction in secondary schools 125

	Teacher training in English	125
	The School Act amended	126
5	Summary	126
E	Federally-administered Schools	127
	Three areas of federal responsibility	127
1	The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development	128
	Integration into the provincial school system	128
	Language use in Indian schools	128
	In the Northwest Territories	129
2	The Department of National Defence	129
	Education arranged through local schools	129
	Financial arrangements	130
	Provincial curricula followed	130
	A new policy	131
	Outside Canada	132
	The need for equal opportunity	132
Chapter VI	Minority-language Education in Other Countries	133
	Foreign experience suggests solutions	133
	Languages with less prestige	133
	Language use in Belgium	134
	Language use in South Africa	135
	Language use in Switzerland	136
	Language use in Finland	137
	Second-language teaching	138
	Relevance to the Canadian situation	139
Chapter VII	Official-language Minority Schools in Bilingual Districts	141
	Objectives	141
	Major changes required	141
	Recommendation 1	142
A	The Language of Instruction	143
	Importance of instruction in mother tongue	143
	Recommendation 2	143
	Teaching aids	144
B	The Teaching of the Official Minority Language as a Subject	144
	Recommendation 3	144
	Planned sequence	144

- C The Teaching of the Majority Language as a Subject 145
 - Recommendation 4 145
 - Contact with the majority language 146
- D Outline of the Curriculum in Official-language Minority Schools 148
 - Adapting the teaching of other subjects 148
 - A common provincial curriculum 148
 - Recommendation 5 149
 - Recommendation 6 149

Chapter VIII Official-language Minority Schools outside Bilingual Districts 151

- Rights of small minority groups 151
- Recommendation 7 151
- A The Secondary Level 152
 - Enrolment 152
 - Shared facilities 153
 - Special classes 153
 - Need for definite and generous regulations 154
- B The Elementary Level 154
 - Separate instruction 154
 - Curriculum 155
- C Major Urban Centres 155
 - Importance of urban minority-language schools 155
 - Recommendation 8 156
- D Supplementary Educational Services 156

Chapter IX Special Aspects of Official-language Minority Schools 157

- A Enrolment 157
 - Option of parents 157
 - Recommendation 9 158
 - Preserving the character of minority schools 158
 - Recommendation 10 158
- B Confessionality 159
 - Religion and culture 159
 - Priority to the language 160
 - New Brunswick 161
 - The double minority 162

Quebec 162
 Recommendation 11 162

Chapter X The Official-language Minority School System 165

Uniform standards 165

A The Provincial Departments of Education 166

Danger of an isolated system 166
 Recommendation 12 166
 Liaison 166
 Recommendation 13 167
 Structure at departmental level 168
 Recommendation 14 168

B The Local School Authority 168

Safeguards for the minority 169
 Recommendation 15 170
 Recommendation 16 170
 Recommendation 17 171
 Appeals to the department of Education 171

Chapter XI The Provision of Teachers for Official-language Minority Schools 173

A Teacher Training 173

Recommendation 18 173
 Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick 174
 The other provinces 174
 Recommendation 19 174
 Programmes 175
 Recommendation 20 175

B Teacher Supply 176

Interim supply 177
 Period of transition 177

Chapter XII Higher Education in the Official Minority Language 179

A Post-secondary Institutions 179

Regional organization 180

B Universities 180

Specialization 180
 Recommendation 21 182
 Extension of facilities for French-speaking minorities 182

- 1 Atlantic region 183
- 2 Ontario 183
 - Recommendation 22 183
- 3 The western provinces 184
- 4 Enrolment outside the student's province 185
 - Recommendation 23 185
 - Recommendation 24 186
 - The quality of French-language higher education 187
 - Recommendation 25 187
- C Textbooks and Reference Books in French-language Universities 188
 - Reasons for use of books in English 188
 - Need for textbooks in French 189
 - Appropriate measures 190

Chapter XIII Financing Official-language Minority Education 191

- Additional costs 191
- Extent of federal responsibility 192
- Recommendation 26 192
- A Elementary and Secondary Official-language Minority Schools 193
 - Recommendation 27 193
- B Teacher Training 194
 - Recommendation 28 194
 - Provincial co-operation 194
 - Recommendation 29 195
- C Universities 195
 - Recommendation 30 195
- D Conclusion 196

Part 2 Second-language Teaching in Canada 197

Chapter XIV Attitudes towards Second-language Teaching in Canada 199

- Objectives not achieved 199
- New programmes 200

- A Attitudes towards Teaching the Second Language 201
 - Public support increasing 201
 - Advantages of learning a second language 202
- B Second-language Teaching and the National Interest 204
 - Need for bilingual Canadians 205
 - Francophones and bilingualism 205
 - Anglophones and bilingualism 206
- C Conclusion 206

Chapter XV The Teaching of the Second Language in Canadian Schools 207

- A Second-language Programmes 207
 - 1 The teaching of French 207
 - French as a compulsory second language 207
 - French as an optional subject 208
 - At the elementary level 208
 - Enrolment 209
 - 2 The teaching of English 209
 - 3 Time allotment 210
 - 4 Aims 210
 - Increasing emphasis on oral skills 210
 - Need for revision of programmes 211
 - 5 Curricula, texts, methods 212
 - Textbooks 212
 - Cultural content 212
 - Supplementary readings 213
 - Methods 213
 - Audio-lingual approach 214
 - 6 An articulated sequence of second-language programmes 216
 - 7 Teaching aids 217
 - Use of radio and television 217
 - Language laboratories 219
 - 8 Provincial examinations 219
 - Oral testing 220
 - 9 Trends and proposed changes 220
 - New programmes planned 220
 - Testing procedures 220

- B Second-language Teacher Supply and Training 221**
 - 1 Teacher supply and qualifications 221
 - Special recruitment measures 222
 - 2 Teacher preparation 222
 - Academic qualifications 222
 - Specialist certification 223
 - 3 In-service training 224
 - 4 Supervision and guidance 224
 - Guidance for language teachers in Ontario 224
 - Guidance in other provinces 225
- C Student Attitudes 225**
 - Attitudes towards French as a second language 226
 - Attitudes towards English as a second language 227
 - Achievement tests 227

Chapter XVI Improving Second-language Teaching in Canada 229

- A The Extent of Instruction in the Second Official Language 229**
 - Opportunity to learn the second language 229
 - Early introduction of the second language 230
 - Recommendation 31 230
- B The Aims of Second-language Training 231**
 - Language skills and cultural objectives 231
 - 1 The language skills 232
 - Emphasis on different language skills 232
 - Priority of oral skills 233
 - Reading and writing skills 234
 - 2 The cultural aims 234
 - Emphasis on Canadian milieu 235
- C The Second-language Curricula in the Schools 235**
 - 1 An articulated second-language programme 236
 - Length of programme 236
 - Linking elementary and secondary programmes 237
 - Recommendation 32 237
 - Recommendation 33 238
 - 2 The introduction of second-language teaching 238
 - Advantage of early introduction 238

- Language interference 239
- Recommendation 34 239
- Kindergarten 240
- Period of transition 241
- Recommendation 35 241
- 3 The language to be taught 242
 - Variants of spoken French 242
 - Le français fondamental* 243
 - Variants of English 243
- 4 The cultural orientation 243
 - Recommendation 36 244
 - Language teaching at university 244
 - Recommendation 37 245
- D Providing Second-language Teachers 245
 - Secondary level 245
 - Elementary level 246
- 1 Specialists in the classroom 246
 - Finding teachers with language skills 246
 - Teacher exchanges 247
 - Classroom visitors 248
 - Itinerant language teachers 248
 - Team teaching 248
- 2 Training the regular classroom teacher 249
 - Summer school programmes 249
 - Language institutes in the United States 249
 - Recommendation 38 250
 - Provincial responsibility 251
 - Recommendation 39 251
 - Recommendation 40 252
 - Recommendation 41 252
 - Recommendation 42 253
 - In-service training and guidance 253
- 3 Teacher-training institutions 254
 - Neglect of the second language 254
 - Recommendation 43 254
- 4 The role of the university in training second-language teachers 255
 - Language teaching at university 255
 - Transfer to another university 256
 - Cost of transfer 256

Recommendation 44 256

Recommendation 45 257

E Teaching Aids 258

Audio-visual aids 258

Use of language laboratory 259

Aids must be an integral part of programme 260

Use of radio and television 261

Recommendation 46 262

Advisory role 263

Interprovincial co-operation 264

Federal government's programme 265

F Conclusion 265

Part 3 Education and Cultural Duality 267

Chapter XVII The Teaching of Canadian History 269

A Introduction 269

Co-operation requires communication 269

The cultural question affects all Canadians 270

Towards a better understanding of the nature of Canada 271

B Cultural Duality and Canadian History 272

Opinions on the teaching of Canadian history 272

C A Study of Canadian History Textbooks 273

Limitations of the study 273

The importance of the textbook 274

Two versions of Canadian history 274

Two societies 275

Two main themes 275

The divergence increases 276

Both versions are valid 277

Images of the other cultural group 278

English-language textbooks 278

French-language textbooks 279

A one-sided view 281

The danger of stereotypes 281

Canadians of other origins 282

D The Teaching of Canadian History in the Context of Two Cultures 282

The social purpose of history 282

- The social purposes of Canadian history 283
- The need to present both themes 284
- Not necessarily a joint effort 284
- The need to re-examine the teaching of history 284
- Suggested criteria 285
- Applications of these criteria 285

Chapter XVIII Education in the Present Social Context 287

- Social changes 287
- A changed perspective of education 287
- Accepting the premise of equal partnership 288
- Information, not indoctrination 288
- A The Universities 288**
 - The responsibility of the universities 289
 - Suggested steps 290
- B Adult Education 291**
 - Learning the other language 291
 - Second-language learning not enough 291
 - The need for a continuing dialogue 291
- C Travel Exchange Programmes 292**
 - Efforts of the Centennial Commission 292
 - Efforts of the Citizenship Branch 292
 - The educational objective 293
 - The need for evaluation and research 293
 - An extension of service 294
- Conclusion 295**
- Recommendations 299**

Appendix I Terms of Reference 309

Appendix II Tables 311

- 1 Grade Retention Rates for Ontario Students Entering Grade ix in 1959, by sex and language spoken at home 311
- 2 Yearly Retention Rates for Ontario Students Entering Grade ix in 1959, by sex and language spoken at home 312
- 3 Future Educational Plans of Ontario Students Entering Grade ix in 1959, by sex and language spoken at home 313

- 4 Number of Regular Courses at Laurentian University, by language 314
- 5 Distribution and Enrolment in Subjects Presented in French and English at Laurentian University, end of September 1965 315
- 6 Distribution of Subjects Presented in French and English in Undergraduate and Graduate Programmes at the University of Ottawa, 1967-8 316
- 7 Achievement on French Test Administered to Francophone Students Attending French-language Secondary Schools 317

Appendix III Provincial Reports on Second-language Teaching 319

- A** Newfoundland 319
- B** Prince Edward Island 321
- C** Nova Scotia 322
- D** New Brunswick: English-language Schools 325
- E** New Brunswick: French-language Schools 327
- F** Quebec: French-language Schools 328
- G** Quebec: English-language Roman Catholic Schools 330
- H** Greater Montreal: English-language Protestant Schools 333
- I** Ontario 335
- J** Manitoba 337
- K** Saskatchewan 340
- L** Alberta 342
- M** British Columbia 345

Appendix IV Quotations Originally in French, Translated into English in the Text 349

1. "French language and culture will flourish in Canada to the extent that conditions permit them to be truly present and creative." This concluding sentence of our first Book is also an appropriate introduction to the second Book of our final *Report*. Education is vitally concerned with both language and culture; educational institutions exist to transmit them to a younger generation and to foster their development. The future of language and culture, both French and English, thus depends upon an educational régime which makes it possible for them to remain "present and creative." In a minority situation education is even more significant, because the school can offer a cultural environment which the community cannot provide. This is the justification for a Book devoted entirely to the linguistic and cultural aspects of education in Canada.

2. We are not suggesting that education as such is a panacea. The school is only one of many institutions which must reflect our linguistic and cultural duality. Other institutions impose a structure on our economic and social life and their importance cannot be underestimated. Subsequent Books of our *Report* will deal with the problems of communication between Canadians in these institutions. Changes in education, however, will facilitate reforms elsewhere and are a prerequisite for some of the other changes which must be made.

3. Part 1 of this Book is concerned with the education of the official-language minorities in each province, whether Francophone or Anglophone.¹ Our terms of reference instructed us "to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races."² The ideal of equal partnership is difficult to define and even more difficult

¹ Education as it relates to the other cultural minorities will be discussed in a later Book, in the context of the place of these cultural groups in Canada.

² See Appendix I.

to achieve. This is especially true in the field of education—here, aims and methods have always been the subject of controversy, and the concept of equal partnership injects yet another complication. In Part 1 we have tried to avoid dealing with the broader aspects of education. These are the responsibility of the provinces and we recognize that each provincial government is already trying to provide the best possible education for the children in its province. But there are official-language minorities in each province, and provision of the best possible education for these minorities requires special measures. Our primary concern, therefore, has not been with the educational opportunities for the linguistic majorities, but with the linguistic and cultural needs of the official-language minorities within each provincial system.

4. Part 2 of this Book deals with the teaching of French and English as second languages. Our terms of reference specifically instructed us “to recommend what could be done to enable Canadians to become bilingual.” We have summarized the existing second-language teaching programmes, with the co-operation of the provincial departments of Education. Our recommendations will suggest how these programmes can be improved and supplemented.

5. In Part 3 we examine the image of the other cultural group which students may derive from their studies. Our mandate instructed us to report on the role of various organizations in promoting “a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of our country . . . and to recommend what should be done to improve that role.” Cultural duality is a basic aspect of Canadian identity and is therefore of fundamental importance. An awareness of this cultural duality is essential to an understanding of Canada. Our aim has been to ensure that all students will become more conscious of this aspect of our national identity.

A. The Implications of Equal Partnership

6. The aims of education are as diverse as the aims of society itself, for in the final analysis they are determined by the values accepted by the society. The values stressed have varied greatly over the years—as the contrasts between Spartan and Athenian education or French lycées and British public schools will attest—but in every case they were consistent with the social purposes of the educational authorities. Any proposal for change in our educational systems must therefore be ultimately based on our view of what Canada is or should be.

Aims of education

7. Our terms of reference make it clear that the Canadian Confederation should recognize the principle of equality between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians. This concept of equal partnership is the mainspring of our terms of reference. As we noted in the General Introduction to our *Report*, equal partnership is an ideal, an absolute, which can never be fully or finally achieved. It is nonetheless possible to propose measures which can reduce the present gulf between reality and this ideal. Equal partnership must be seen as one of the fundamental values of our Confederation and all institutions should reflect and foster this equality.¹

Equal partnership

8. Equal partnership in education implies equivalent educational opportunities for Francophones and Anglophones alike, whether they belong to the majority or the minority in their province. More specifically, it implies a special concern for the minority. The majority, by force of numbers, is able to develop its educational system in response to its own needs. The minority, on the other hand, can draw attention to its special needs but it must rely on the understanding and gener-

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, §§ 62-92.

**Importance of
language**

osity of the majority if it is to have access to an educational régime which reflects these needs. Educational systems devised in the past to meet the requirements of the linguistic majority in the English-speaking provinces must be equally responsive to those of the minority.

9. Minorities, whether French or English, inevitably give priority to their own language. If the majority language is the sole language of instruction in the provincial schools, the survival of the minority as a linguistic group is menaced. Almost by definition a minority is exposed to a social environment in which the majority language is always present. The school must counterbalance this environment and must give priority to the minority language if the mother tongue is to become an adequate instrument of communication. Language is also the key to cultural development. Language and culture are not synonymous, but the vitality of the language is a necessary condition for the complete preservation of a culture. In the words of the recent Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec, the Parent Commission:

The language of a group of people reflects the culture proper to itself: dominance of logic or poetic intuition, continuous or broken structures, semantic precision or rich imagery, it is according to these contrasting ideas that the character of a language becomes clear. It is the reflection and mirror of those who speak it, the vehicle of their thoughts and dreams.¹

**Educational
opportunities**

10. On the other hand, the objective of preserving language and culture must not be interpreted narrowly. An educational system should aim to give every student the opportunity to develop his special talents and skills. In terms of equality, this opportunity should not involve any sacrifice of the student's cultural identity. But, for practical reasons, minority groups because of their smaller numbers cannot always have equivalent educational opportunities in their own language—for example, a secondary school must have a large enrolment before it can offer a wide range of courses and programmes. Furthermore, education is not merely an end in itself: it is expected to serve some social purpose and to prepare the student for a productive adult life. As well as linguistic and cultural equality, equality of access to higher education and equality of economic opportunity are also educational ideals which must be considered.

B. Linguistic Equality in Education**Linguistic
identity**

11. For a minority group, equal partnership means the possibility of preserving its linguistic and cultural identity. Living in a milieu

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, III (Montreal, 1965), § 570.

where the other language and the other cultural group are omnipresent, those in the minority face serious difficulties in retaining the vocabulary, the ease of expression, and the modes of thought of their own tongue. These difficulties are compounded for their children, who are often exposed to the majority language from the time they are able to play outside. The gradual loss of the mother tongue is inevitable without some institution to give formal instruction in the language and to enhance its prestige by according it some social recognition. At the same time, minority-language schools can adapt the curriculum to stress the cultural heritage of the minority group. The importance of such schools can scarcely be exaggerated, and it is not surprising that both official-language minorities have been deeply concerned about the establishment of minority-language schools.

Cultural
identity

12. These minority-language schools should not be considered a concession to the minority-language group: for pedagogical reasons they are the most efficient and most effective way of educating the minority. Children can only be taught if they understand the language of instruction. This is so obvious that, even in most provinces where English is the only official language of instruction, French is permitted as the language of instruction in the early grades in French-speaking communities. In Quebec it is taken for granted that English-speaking children must be taught in English. Even after the students have acquired some knowledge of the language of the majority, they cannot be effectively taught if they follow the same courses of study as the majority. Many English-language provinces, for example, recognize the absurdity of enrolling French-speaking students in French classes designed to teach French to English-speaking students as a second language. Therefore they provide a separate course of study for the minority.

13. It is equally absurd for French-speaking students to follow the programmes in English designed for English-speaking students. Anglophones have larger English vocabularies and a fuller acquaintance with orthographical peculiarities and idiomatic irregularities of the language; they can afford to spend more time on English literature. For French-speaking children, however, spelling, grammar, and composition must be laboriously learned and must be given a higher priority than the study of Milton or Shakespeare. The importance to the minority of learning the second language well only emphasizes the importance of a special programme designed to meet their special needs.

14. Even in the social sciences, the minority requires special consideration. It is almost a pedagogical platitude that education should start within the area of the child's experience and then proceed to the less familiar and the unknown. A child from the minority group—whether Francophone or Anglophone—obviously has a cultural heritage

and experience distinguishing him from the children of the other language group in the community, and his courses of study should reflect this difference. If these children are to be given an education appropriate to their linguistic needs and their cultural background, they cannot be enrolled in majority schools and treated as if they belonged to the majority.

15. If the Canadian Confederation is to develop on the basis of an equal partnership between the two main cultures, adequate schooling must be provided in the language of each. English- or French-speaking parents should have the right to have their children educated in their own language, and this right should find concrete expression in the opportunities afforded them through the educational facilities of their province. It is taken for granted today that all children have the right to attend public schools. The principle of equal partnership implies an extension of this right—not only should children be guaranteed access to public schools, but English and French should have equal status as languages of instruction.

Equality in
education

16. In theory this equality might be achieved by alternating the language of instruction within each school so that each child would receive half of his instruction in each language. In practice, however, such schools present serious practical and pedagogical problems. They are more difficult to administer and they demand a high degree of bilingual competence in the teaching staff. More important, the aim of such a dual-language school is to maintain a linguistic balance, but the school is only one of the institutions affecting the linguistic development of the child. Unless the same balance between the two languages can be maintained in the total environment, there is inevitably a danger of assimilation to the dominant language.

17. An alternative is to provide two separate educational systems, with English as the major language of instruction in one and French as the major language of instruction in the other. Such linguistic separation is already practised to some extent in various provinces. For the minority this separation is a potent aid to linguistic survival but it also poses some difficulties. Linguistic segregation may restrict the range of educational opportunities which can be provided for a scattered minority. It is also more difficult to ensure that the minority schools will maintain academic standards equivalent to those of majority schools. A separate educational system for the minority offers linguistic equality but it may not provide equivalent educational opportunities.

18. The emphasis on the linguistic and cultural needs of the minority must not obscure the importance of these other aspects of education. If educational opportunities are limited, students may not have the chance to develop their special talents and skills. This will involve a loss

not only to the individual students but also to their linguistic minority as a whole. In the long run, the vitality of language and culture depends on the contribution of individual members of the group. The preservation of a static society is an exercise in futility. The appropriate education for a minority-language student is one which combines the special linguistic and cultural objectives with the educational objectives already recognized in the majority-language system in the province.

C. Equality of Opportunity in Education

19. In a less complicated world, the objectives of education were adequately realized in a simple schoolhouse setting which emphasized direct personal contact between teacher and student. Today the school and the whole educational system have left this romantic image far back in the last century. The modern school is a complex institution and is a part of an intricate and highly specialized system. Any kind of minority-language schools must be fitted into this school system.

Development
of a system
of education

20. The first elementary schools in Canada often involved little more than a teacher and a few pupils, and the equipment might be no more than a blackboard, slates, and textbooks. But the isolation of the one-room school was temporary. Provincial governments agreed to contribute to the cost of education and soon they were deciding the minimum qualifications for teachers. Next came provincial normal schools to train teachers. Minimum standards of achievement were imposed; these involved provincial inspectors, provincial examinations, uniform curricula, carefully planned courses of study, and eventually the meticulous and detailed regulations which today affect every aspect of school life, from the size and shape of classrooms to medical and dental care for the students.

21. The school cannot be thought of as part of a closed system, encompassing only teachers, inspectors, administrators, and planners who are directly associated with departments of Education. Parents are involved in the system in many ways. They may be in touch with their child's teacher, they may elect the local school board, they may pay school taxes, and in each role their attitudes affect school policy. Many citizens also come into close contact with the graduates of the schools as employers or supervisors or in institutions where further technical, professional, or academic training is provided. Again, these individuals are likely to form opinions as to what the schools are or should be doing and they may try to influence educational policy. The modern school system is not only intricate and complex, but it is an integral part of modern society and is expected to reflect the aims and aspirations of the society.

Education—
a part of
the changing
social
system

22. The most striking characteristic of the modern school is the amount of experimentation and innovation taking place there. Canada has changed radically during the last century and our ideas of the role of education have also changed. Indeed, the revolution in education—and revolution is not too strong a word—is not solely a Canadian phenomenon; the same transformation has occurred in other countries. Nor is the revolution ended. The rate of change has accelerated and today education is one of the most dynamic sectors of our society. Innovations are constantly being introduced—new subjects appear on the curriculum, new approaches are adopted for traditional subjects, tape-recorders and television have a place in the classroom, computers are used by school administrators and by students. And many more changes are yet to come. More radical reforms are constantly being advocated and the pressures for further changes are so great that our schools already seem old-fashioned, in spite of recent innovations. The modern school cannot be described in static terms.

23. We are therefore more concerned with broad trends in education than with details. It is essential to see the modern school system in perspective and to note the fundamental changes in our society which account for the continuing revolution in education. The changes are usually more obvious in the majority-language school system, because political authorities are likely to be more responsive to the needs of the majority, but the same trends are vital to any discussion of the educational needs of the linguistic minority. Innovation and reform are equally important for all schools; a school system for the majority or the minority must reflect the educational needs of its students today and must also be flexible enough to adapt to future changes in education. A static system would be an anachronism.

**Universal
education**

24. The root of all change in education has been the extension of educational facilities to all children. The view widely held in the early 19th century—that education was the privilege of the few—has been superseded by the idea that everybody must be educated. This concept of mass education accounts for the gradual transfer of responsibility for education from religious institutions to the state. It also accounts for the bewildering complexity of our school systems. Schools today must provide an education appropriate for children of all capacities, interests, and social backgrounds, and they must provide this education for increasing periods of time as more children stay in school longer. In 1961, more than one of every four Canadians over four years of age was attending school or university; this is an indication of the importance we give to education and the educational costs we are prepared to incur.

25. Why have modern societies accepted these burdens? The demands of a technological society provide a partial explanation. Each of us can attest from his own experience to the technical complexity of our society. The days when the only specialists a man needed to consult were his doctor and his lawyer are long forgotten; today most households have an impressive list of professionals and servicemen to call upon. We are free to pursue our own specialized activities because we can assume that other people have the skills and the training to maintain the machines and the services on which we rely.

Education for
a technological
society

26. Our educational system has developed to provide the necessary specialists. In its early stages, the industrial revolution depended to a large extent on unskilled labour to carry out repetitive and monotonous tasks. Little education was needed for this work and even child labour could be used. Increasing mechanization and specialization have transformed the primitive factory into a highly sophisticated plant, where machines are substituted for manual labour and employees must have technical and administrative skills. Such skills depend on more than training on the job. They depend on a minimum of formal education—reading, writing, and mathematics—and on the understanding of some scientific and technical principles. This basic training is given in the schools.

27. The school has proved to be very flexible and responsive to the demands of our technological society. Elementary education could make children literate and, when the social benefits of literacy were appreciated, elementary education became compulsory. The success of this social experiment led to further demands on our schools. Secondary education, long confined to academic training for a few, became more diversified. Scientific subjects were added to the academic curriculum and commercial and technical programmes were introduced as substitutes. Compulsory education was extended, usually to the age of 16, with incentives to parents to continue the education of their children even longer. Now, with the increasing rapidity of technological change, more emphasis is being given to teaching fundamental principles than to imparting manual skills, because technology may make these skills obsolete.

28. Another factor shaping our modern school system has been the demands of a democratic society. In its simplest terms, the extension of the franchise gave a measure of political power to almost all adults and the electorate obviously had to be educated to use this power wisely. Democratic ideals, however, have had other and more subtle influences on modern education. John Dewey, for example, believed that democracy was based on respect for the worth and dignity of each individual. For him this meant that the school should respect the

Education
for a
democratic
society

identity of the child. Each child should have the opportunity to develop his potential qualities; each child should be allowed to develop naturally and in keeping with his own interests. Education was to be a group activity, with children learning to live in a democratic society as well as accumulating formal knowledge. Dewey's ideas on "progressive" education are still controversial, but no one would deny that they have profoundly influenced the development of the modern school.

Cultural
goals

29. Education has other values for the individual, not narrowly economic or political, but affecting the quality and scope of the individual's life. Modern educational systems are also expected to develop understanding, stimulate creative talents, and preserve and refine our cultural and moral heritage. Earlier generations subscribed to these goals for the élite, but universal education makes them accessible to all.

Specialization
in the
secondary
programme

30. In recent years the impact of the varied pressures on our educational system has been most apparent at the secondary level. At the elementary level, compulsory education had a revolutionary impact, but a broad pattern has emerged. There is now general agreement on the basic skills and knowledge which all children should acquire. At the secondary level, however, the aims are still being questioned. The academic curriculum has a long tradition. The humanities have been joined by the physical and social sciences, but the changes have been gradual and the emphasis on intellectual development remains. But it is no longer assumed that all children should follow the academic programme—many and varied technical, commercial, and fine arts programmes have been developed, ranging in duration from one to five years. These programmes conform to the varying aptitudes and interests of children, but they are highly specialized and therefore restrict the child's opportunities for personal development and his choice of a future career. These specialized programmes are the subject of considerable debate concerning priorities in education. Broadly speaking, the advocates of specialization emphasize the needs of a technological society, while advocates of a longer common programme are more concerned with the aims of a democratic society.

31. The debate is not confined to Canada. Other industrial countries have also faced the dilemma of teaching fundamental skills and values to all students while at the same time offering a variety of specialized programmes. A similar trend is emerging even though the educational systems vary widely from one country to the next. The importance of this is obvious; our recommendations for minority education must be consistent with this development. For this reason a summary of what is taking place in some other countries will be helpful. Such a summary will clarify the issues now being debated and will also show how the debate is being resolved.

32. The United States has had long experience with compulsory schooling financed by public authorities. The changing concept of secondary education, however, can be illustrated by two reports of the National Education Association. The first report, prepared by a Committee of Ten in 1893, described the function of a high school in this way: "to prepare for the duties of life that small proportion of all the children in the country—a proportion small in number, but very important to the welfare of the nation—who show themselves able to profit by an education prolonged to the eighteenth year, and whose parents are able to support them while they remain at school."¹ The second report, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, was published 25 years later in 1918. The attitude of this second committee shows how the concept of education had been transformed in the intervening years. An extended education for every child was now seen as "essential to the welfare, and even to the existence of democratic society" and the report recommended that secondary schools admit and provide suitable instruction for all students of secondary school age.² The "small proportion" who could profit by secondary education was now expanded to include all children.

33. The report of 1918 naturally envisaged diversified programmes in the secondary school to suit the diverse aptitudes, abilities, and aspirations of the students. At the same time it was concerned with the need for social cohesion and social solidarity. It objected to the invidious social distinctions associated with separate academic and vocational high schools, and saw social advantages in the mingling of all students in the same school. It strongly recommended comprehensive high schools, with all students studying some subjects together and sharing in the same athletic and social activities, but divided into separate groups for study of subjects with a more direct vocational orientation. Comprehensive high schools were thus expected to fulfil what might be called the vocational and the social aims of education.

34. The comprehensive high school is now widely accepted as the form for secondary schools in the United States, and in most communities public secondary schools admit all elementary school graduates regardless of their academic rating or their educational goals. James B. Conant has summarized the main objectives of these schools: "First, to provide a general education for all the future citizens; second, to provide good elective programs for those who wish to use their acquired

¹ UNESCO, *World Survey of Education*, III (Paris, 1961), 130.

² U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education Bulletin 35, 1918, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, a report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education Appointed by the National Education Association (Washington, 1918), 29-30.

Evolution of
secondary
education in
England

skills immediately on graduation; *third*, to provide satisfactory programs for those whose vocations will depend on their subsequent education in a college or university."¹ These objectives summarize the compromise between a general and a specialized education which the comprehensive secondary school is intended to provide.

35. In England the tradition of specialized secondary schools is more firmly established. Even there, however, the vocational and social aims of education have provoked widespread discussion and the structure of secondary education is being transformed. Reforms seemed necessary because secondary schools somehow had to provide suitable programmes for students who would otherwise have left school.

36. In the years between the wars, a consultative committee on secondary education produced a series of influential reports. It recommended compulsory education to the age of 15, and proposed that at the age of 11 all children should be classified on the basis of aptitude and achievement and directed to schools offering the appropriate programme.² The different kinds of secondary schools involved may be grouped in three broad categories: grammar schools, where the students are prepared for university entrance; secondary technical schools, where the academic programme is supplemented by technical courses, with the students going on to university or into industry or commerce after graduation; and secondary modern schools, where the programme is designed for students who are likely to find employment after graduation. The committee thus rejected comprehensive schools, in which all students would follow the same courses of study for some subjects.

37. The main recommendations of the committee were implemented by the Education Act of 1944, but the rigidity of the system caused some dissatisfaction. The major criticism was the difficulty of assessing a child's potential at "eleven-plus" and the difficulty of transferring students from one type of school to another if such a transfer seemed desirable. In 1965 the government was planning to encourage multi-lateral schools, with the "declared objective of ending selection at the age of eleven-plus and of abolishing separatism in secondary education."³ Multilateral schools, offering two or more types of programmes, differ from comprehensive schools, where all students follow a common programme in some subjects; but there are now some comprehensive schools in England and there is keen interest although no consensus

¹ James B. Conant, *The American High School Today* (New York, 1959), 17.

² Great Britain, Board of Education, *The Education of the Adolescent* (London, 1927), 140-9.

³ *Education in 1965*, Report of the British Department of Education and Science (London, 1966), 10.

of opinion about this type of school.¹ But the trend towards larger and more diversified schools seems to be well established.

38. In France secondary education has also changed radically. In 1927 the minister of Education could say: "Our task, in fact, is constantly to create an élite."² The lycées and colleges of the inter-war years fulfilled this task admirably. The traditional classical curriculum had been modified to permit some combination of Latin, modern languages, and sciences, but admission to these schools still depended on rigid examinations. Other students attended schools offering vocational training.

Evolution
of secondary
education
in France

39. The debate since the war has centred on the exclusiveness of the lycées, with the critics arguing that children of lower social and economic status were unable to meet the entrance requirements. Projected reforms centred on a common curriculum for all students in the first years of secondary education. The aim of the reform introduced in 1959, which established this common curriculum for the first two years, was explained in a publication of the ministère de l'Éducation nationale:

One of the key ideas of this reform is *orientation* on the basis of *observation*, introduced in the first two years of the secondary level. Children should not be forced into particular courses, long or short, in any particular school or any particular type of school, according to their family's social situation or the nearness of a particular secondary school, but should be free to follow their tastes and aptitudes. This is what has been called the "democratization" of education.³

The reform of 1963 went much further in establishing a common secondary school system. Collèges d'enseignement secondaire—really comprehensive schools—were established. At these colleges, all students follow the common programme for two years and then specialize in classical, modern, general, or technical studies for the next two years. Only then do students attend separate specialized institutions. According to the ministère de l'Éducation nationale: ". . . for the first time in the history of French educational institutions, all pupils graduating from elementary school will move up together to another school. Besides, since there are no difficulties in transferring from one stream to another, these institutions [secondary schools] are the ideal means for ensuring the pupil's successful adjustment."⁴

¹ See, for example, *15 to 18*, Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education to the British Ministry of Education, I (London, 1959), 25.

² Cited in I. L. Kandel, *Comparative Education* (Boston, 1933), 707.

³ France, Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, *La Réforme de l'enseignement, août 1963-juin 1966* (Paris, 1966), 1. See Appendix IV for original French version.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2. See Appendix IV for original French version.

Similar
trends in
secondary
education

40. It is apparent that in spite of the differences in the educational systems in these three countries, recent reforms all reflect similar trends at the secondary level. All students must stay in school longer. Specialized programmes are provided to suit the varied aptitudes and interests of the students but, to avoid rigid and arbitrary streaming, these programmes are often offered in the same school. These schools differ considerably from one country to the next, but they have some characteristics in common. Because of the number of streams and options, these schools have large enrolments—often more than 1,000 students. The school buildings are elaborate and complex and the teachers are specialists. Broadly speaking, comprehensive or multilateral high schools are the common response to the vocational and social aims of public education.

41. Secondary education in Canada is following the same pattern. The trend is for secondary schools to become larger and to offer a wider range of programmes. The changes now being introduced will be described in subsequent chapters of this Book. For the moment it is enough to note this trend.

Post-secondary
trends

42. The pattern of post-secondary education is less easily perceived. It is only in recent years that large numbers of students have continued their formal education beyond secondary level and, although governments have encouraged this trend by a variety of incentives, there is no formal compulsion. At the moment the students have a bewildering variety of institutions from which to choose. The university is the traditional post-secondary institution, and universities have grown in size and complexity to meet the needs of a larger and more varied student body. Other institutions, such as technological institutes and community colleges, have developed but there is as yet no consensus of opinion about the role such institutions should play. They may become specialized institutions, clearly distinct from universities and attracting a different type of student, or they may become intermediate institutions between the secondary and university levels. A third possibility is that they will in turn become complex institutions offering both vocational and academic programmes, whose students may be prepared for the work world or for university education. One may hazard a guess that social pressures and the principle of equal access to higher education are likely to lead to composite institutions of this last type, but it is too soon to judge with any assurance.

43. Any plans for minority-language schools must take into account the modern trends in education. This means providing comprehensive schools at the secondary level. If there are too few minority-language students in a region to warrant a comprehensive school, some compromise must be found between the linguistic and cultural objectives

and the educational objectives common to all secondary schools. For minority-language schools it is important to devise a system flexible enough to enable students to benefit from the educational opportunities which are and will be provided in the future for the majority within a province.

D. The Objectives of Minority-language Schools

44. In Canada, the principle of equal partnership leads logically to the provision of minority-language schools, whether French or English. These schools are essential for the development of both official languages and cultures; they are the only means of providing Canadians of either language group who are in a minority situation with access to an education in their mother tongue. At the same time, it is in the interests of both the minority and the majority in each province to ensure that the academic standards in these minority schools are equivalent to those of the majority-language schools. In brief, the aim must be to provide for members of the minority an education appropriate to their linguistic and cultural identity, but one which will not isolate them from the mainstream of educational developments in their province.

45. We recognize that minority-language schools will not be equally feasible under all circumstances. Student enrolment will affect the provision of educational facilities. At the elementary level, classes of fewer than 10 students are likely to be prohibitively expensive. At the secondary level, with the proliferation of programmes and options, the problem is even more acute, so a separate school at this level might well be restricted to a simple programme, or might not be practical under any circumstances. Provincial departments of Education have limited funds at their disposal and must justify their expenditures on pedagogical grounds.

Practical
conditions
of minority
education

46. We will be discussing administrative and pedagogical questions at length later in this Book. For the moment it is enough to note that while the right to an education in either official language should be an undisputed principle, it is also true that the degree to which this right may be exercised will be governed by what is practically feasible and what is desirable from the point of view of the parents and children involved.

47. The right to minority-language schools does not imply an obligation on the parents from the minority-language group to send their children to this school. In any community where both French- and English-language public schools exist, parents should have the option of choosing which school their children will attend. Obvious as this

The right
of parental
option

may seem to Canadians, the point should be underlined because parents do not have this choice in some officially bilingual countries.

48. This parental option has certain implications for minority-language schools. Parents who in the past have not been accustomed to receiving educational services in their mother tongue may very well be slower to take advantage of their opportunities than they would be where these services had traditionally existed. It will be understandable therefore if at first the enrolment in the minority-language school is small in areas where the option is new. Furthermore, the feasibility of such schools in specific districts may be governed to some extent not only by the number of children who speak the minority language but also by the number of children from the majority group who might be enrolled. A special problem will arise if many parents from the majority group want to send their children to the minority-language school to learn the second language. Their right to do so must be respected, but special measures will be required to ensure that the language problems of their children do not interfere unduly with the education of the children whose mother tongue is the language of instruction.

Both languages
taught

49. Minority-language schools, it must also be pointed out, do not mean schools in which only French or only English will be the language of instruction. All Canadians should have some knowledge of both French and English, but for those who are in a minority situation an adequate knowledge of the second official language is essential. The second language will be taught as a subject in minority-language schools and it may also be used as a language of instruction in some other subjects. The minority language will be the normal language in these schools, but it may not be the sole language of instruction.

A fundamental
principle

50. The fundamental principle, however, is unaffected by these implications. Anglophone and Francophone parents should have the right to have their children educated in their own language. To implement this principle, minority-language schools will have to be provided. The nature of these schools must be carefully considered—the language of instruction, the curricula, the courses of study, the links with the majority-language schools, the administrative structure, the provision of teachers, textbooks, teaching aids, the financing. All these aspects must be clarified before our specific proposals for minority-language schools can be fully understood. The principle, however, follows inevitably from the idea of equal partnership. It is for this reason that we proposed in Book I that the principle should be enshrined as section 93A of the B.N.A. Act:

Every province shall establish and maintain elementary and secondary schools in which English is the sole or main language of instruction, and ele-

mentary and secondary schools in which French is the sole or main language of instruction, in bilingual districts and other appropriate areas under conditions to be determined by provincial law, but nothing in this section shall be deemed to prohibit schools in which English and French have equal importance as languages of instruction or schools in which instruction may be given in some other language.¹

The present study is in a sense an elaboration of this recommendation.

51. Our recommendations in this Part will be primarily concerned with the education of the official-language minorities. Some of the recommendations will involve interprovincial co-operation; others will involve federal assistance to the provinces. All of them, however, will depend on provincial authorities for implementation. It is already the objective of these authorities to provide the best education possible in their province. We are convinced that greater concern for the linguistic and cultural needs of the official-language minorities is not only desirable but essential if this objective is to be achieved. We take it for granted, therefore, that the co-operation of provincial authorities is assured.

Provincial
co-operation

52. In the discussion of the objectives of minority-language schools, we have stressed the educational needs of the minority. No minority schools could be justified which did not give this priority to the interests of the students who will attend them. At the same time, these schools are also important for the broader objective of developing the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two linguistic societies.

A Canadian
objective

53. This means that the need for official-language minority schools may even extend to areas where the minority group is not yet well established. Large organizations such as the federal government and nation-wide corporations often find it desirable to move employees from one part of the country to another. The employees may find that promotions depend on this broader experience. Anglophones might be reluctant to move to Montreal if only French-language schools existed; certainly Francophones have refused transfers to Toronto because English is the sole language of instruction in Toronto schools. Geographic mobility is in the interest of national organizations and the individuals involved; it is also in the national interest. To the extent that minority-language schools would facilitate this mobility, they should be encouraged.

54. In a country with two official languages, the need for bilingual citizens is apparent. Minority-language schools can make a significant contribution towards enabling Canadians to become bilingual. In areas where the minority is small or isolated, these schools may be the only means of retaining a knowledge of the mother tongue. Such schools

Need for
bilingual
citizens

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, I, § 414.*

might also provide an opportunity for some parents from the majority-language group to have their children learn the other language. Such schools would preserve the existence of the non-dominant language and would also stimulate the interest of the majority population in acquiring the second language.

55. These schools would have great importance, moreover, as vital expressions of our cultural duality. They would symbolize in a concrete way the principle of equal partnership in areas where the existence of the other cultural group is easily overlooked. Such schools, in addition to the direct benefits to their students, would give the minority-language group a sense of being fully accepted despite their differences, and would give the majority a greater awareness of the minority language and culture. In some provinces, at the moment, it is difficult for citizens to realize that the other cultural group really exists; minority-language schools would heighten their awareness of our duality.

56. These arguments for minority-language schools have been couched in the broad perspective of the national interest, but they apply with equal force to all regions of the country. Each province is part of the federal union and each citizen is a Canadian citizen; if this country is to develop as a partnership of the two founding races, each province and each citizen must accept the implications of this partnership.

A. Introduction

57. The transformations in Canadian systems of education stem from the extension of educational facilities to all children. In every province the same trends are obvious. Children spend more years in school and the kinds of training available are becoming more diversified. These changes, however, have been extensions or modifications of the existing provincial systems. All the provincial educational systems had developed some unique characteristics and these are still reflected in the emerging educational structures. Our concern is with the place of the official-language minorities within the provincial school systems, but our recommendations cannot be divorced from the legacy of the past. An historical survey of minority-language education is a necessary introduction to a description of minority-language education in the Canadian provinces of today.

58. In the past, Quebec and the English-language provinces developed very different educational systems. Most English-language provinces in Canada have one educational system; education for French-speaking children is provided within that system. There is one minister of Education, one department of Education, one curriculum, and most of the laws and regulations affecting education apply to all provincial schools, regardless of language of instruction or the religious affiliations of teachers or students. Students are expected to attain academic standards established for the province and may even write the same province-wide examinations. Teachers' certificates are issued on the basis of criteria established by the provincial department of Education.

59. The provincial system may recognize differences in religion and language. Roman Catholic students may be given special instruction

A uniform
pattern in
English-
speaking
provinces

in religion and Francophone students may receive some of their education in French. Otherwise, the schools offering these special considerations resemble other schools within the province. Even "separate schools" in such provinces as Ontario, Saskatchewan, and Alberta are in fact public schools and are part of a single provincial school system.

Two
separate
systems in
Quebec

60. In this respect Quebec is not a province like the others. When André Siegfried visited Quebec shortly after the turn of the century, he commented on the complete separation of English and French schools within the province: "From the point of view of the relations between the French Catholics and the English Protestants, the educational system of Quebec has produced the best results: the two sets of schools co-exist without fear of conflict or dispute, because they have no points of contact. The situation is exactly that of two separate nations kept apart by a definite frontier and having as little intercourse as possible."¹ Not only were the schools separate but they were part of separate and quite different educational systems. There were two reasons for this situation. First, Francophones preferred a separate French Roman Catholic system for their children because of the danger of close contacts with an alien and menacing society; by giving Roman Catholic churchmen a prominent role in education, they limited secular influences and prevented the development of a single educational system within the province. Second, concern of the Francophone majority for their own distinctive system of education also meant a willingness to give the Anglophone minority the freedom and the resources to develop a separate system according to its own values. This right has never been seriously questioned by the French Catholic majority and, in the words of an Anglophone educator, the result is "a model of understanding and respect for the dissenting opinion of others."² This respect for the language and religious beliefs of the minority is so firmly rooted that even today, when the educational system is being radically transformed, few suggest that French should be the normal language of instruction and nobody suggests that Roman Catholic attitudes should predominate in all provincial schools.

61. Our primary concern is with the educational facilities available to the English-speaking minority in Quebec. The development of these facilities, however, can only be understood within the provincial context. The educational system of the majority is unique in many ways, but we are chiefly concerned here with showing the contrast between the

¹ André Siegfried, *The Race Question in Canada*, F. H. Underhill, ed. (Toronto, 1966), 64. Originally published under the title *Le Canada: les deux races* (Paris, 1906).

² G. Emmett Carter, *The Catholic Public Schools of Quebec* (Toronto, 1957), 15.

majority and minority systems in the province and with emphasizing the autonomy of the minority in educational matters.

B. French-language Education in Quebec

62. The origins of the two systems of education go back long before Confederation, and the administrative structures established before 1867 survived with little change until the 1960's. Legislation to establish the central institution, the Council of Public Instruction, was passed in 1856. There was a minister of Education for a few years after Confederation, but this office disappeared in 1875 and, from then until 1964, an appointed superintendent was the chief executive officer. In theory the Council of Public Instruction was the equivalent of a department of Education, reporting to the cabinet instead of to a minister. In practice, the council scarcely existed as a corporate body; it was divided into two committees, a Protestant and a Roman Catholic committee, and these became virtually autonomous authorities for the two systems.

The
beginnings

63. The ultimate political authority was almost never asserted and eventually the independence of the committees was deeply entrenched. The sharp distinction between the two school systems, based on confessionality, also explains the virtual disappearance of the Council of Public Instruction. By law, the council was to have jurisdiction over educational questions affecting both systems, while the committees had jurisdiction over confessional matters. In practice, it was almost assumed that all educational issues arose within a confessional context. The dominant role of the committees is illustrated by the fact that the Council of Public Instruction never assembled as a body between 1908 and 1960.

64. The Roman Catholic system of education differed significantly from the school systems in other parts of Canada. Elementary schools followed the usual pattern of local schools, with the costs shared by the provincial government and the local population, and with the traditional emphasis on reading, writing, and arithmetic. The normal link between the elementary school and the university, however, was the classical college—the central institution of the Quebec Roman Catholic system, but one without counterpart elsewhere in Canada.

65. As the name suggests, the most distinctive characteristic of the traditional classical college was the curricular emphasis on the classical languages and the humanities. For the first four-year cycle the student studied Latin and Greek as well as French and English; in the second four-year cycle he concentrated on the humanities and philosophy.

The
classical
college—
a contrast
to the high
school

These colleges are the heirs of an educational approach going back to the Renaissance, and the advocates of this approach have always stressed the importance of general cultural education over specialization. To quote from a recent publication of the Fédération des collèges classiques:

What characterizes this classical tradition is concern for intellectual development, the ideal of the well-formed intelligence, facility in the manipulation of concepts, and the desire to discover basic principles. Such an education, despite the separation between the literature and philosophy programmes, provides *a fairly strict unity in both methods and goals*, since curriculum content is always viewed from the objective perspective of a general education, and priority has always been given to concern for integral, humanist education.¹

66. The curriculum therefore differed from that of most North American high schools, with their greater emphasis on practical knowledge and specialization. It is probably true that for many years this contrast with other secondary education in North America was a source of pride and satisfaction to most French-speaking Canadians. It was generally agreed that the classical colleges reflected the distinctive needs and fostered the distinctive qualities of French Canadian society in North America.²

67. The significance of the classical college in the French-language educational system in Quebec rests on more than its humanist philosophy. These colleges were all private institutions, owned and administered by various religious organizations, and independent of the Catholic committee of education. At one time they were almost the only institutions offering French-language secondary education in Quebec, and graduation from a college was a prerequisite for admission to a university. The classical colleges were for many years the most striking illustration of the limitation of political authority and the pre-eminent role of the Roman Catholic Church in French Canadian education. They were also the basis of the distinctive character of this education.

Development
of public
secondary
schools

68. While there were always voices speaking out for free education under government administration in Quebec, these reforms came relatively late—it is only within recent years that secondary education for the French-speaking Roman Catholics in Quebec has been radically

¹ Fédération des collèges classiques, *Notre réforme scolaire*, II: L'Enseignement classique (Montreal, 1963), 21. (Italics in the original.) See Appendix IV for original French version.

² See, for example, L.-P. Audet, *Le système scolaire de la province de Québec*, I (Quebec, 1950), 225.

transformed. The changes have been in response to the demands of an industrial society, although the pressures for change have been diverse and the changes themselves have been piecemeal and gradual. One of the most obvious pressures has been the growing demand for public secondary education. The classical colleges were usually residential institutions and enrolment was restricted to a relatively small number of students. The classical system tended, in the words of one French Canadian scholar, to see its function as that of training "une élite professionnelle, jalouse de la culture qu'elle croit posséder."¹ The education authorities responded timidly to pressures for public secondary schools, and it was not until 1921 that an "école primaire supérieure" was opened in Montreal. This school extended public education to the tenth grade. At first this was seen as a continuation of elementary schooling, as the name suggested, and not as an alternative to the classical college; but within a few years these public secondary schools had multiplied and the programme had been extended to four and even five years. Probably even more significant was the decision in the 1930's to admit graduates of these public schools to the university science faculties.² Although these graduates are still not admitted to several faculties, the public schools now constitute a second system of secondary education, side by side with the classical colleges. The expansion of the public secondary schools has been almost phenomenal in recent years, the enrolment increasing from 60,000 in 1949-50 to more than 300,000 in 1964-5.³

A changing
system

69. The classical colleges were also affected by the increasing demand for educational opportunities. So many new colleges were created that in 1960 one out of every three classical colleges in the province had come into existence during the previous decade, and enrolment had almost doubled.⁴ Nonetheless, the more rapid increase of enrolment in the public schools meant that the proportion of secondary students attending classical colleges declined in these years.

70. The changes were even more fundamental than enrolment statistics suggest. The curricula of the public secondary schools reflected the pressures of an industrial society. Students could follow academic, commercial, or technical programmes. There existed also a confusing

¹ Léon Lortie, "Le système scolaire," dans *Essais sur le Québec contemporain*, Jean-C. Falardeau, ed. (Quebec, 1953), 177.

² Public secondary school graduates were admitted to the École polytechnique and the École des hautes études commerciales before 1930, subject to certain conditions including a special entrance examination. Both these institutions are affiliated with the University of Montreal.

³ *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, V (Montreal, 1966), § 465, Table XVIII.

⁴ *Fédération des collèges classiques, Notre réforme scolaire*, I: Les cadres généraux (Montreal, 1962), 37, Table 3.

Increased
responsibility
of government

variety of technical and trade schools, agricultural schools, and other specialized schools. The classical colleges, too, have responded to the pressure for a curriculum more relevant to the contemporary world.

71. Almost inevitably these changes at the secondary level were accompanied by the increasing responsibility of the provincial government. The costs of education have spiralled in Quebec, as elsewhere; even religious institutions have had to turn to the government for financial assistance, until now a large part of the revenue of the classical colleges comes from grants from the department of Education.

72. The increasing responsibilities of the government have developed gradually, but the trend is unmistakable. Indeed, the provincial Royal Commission on Education argued that only the state can organize, co-ordinate, and finance the educational system required in a modern industrial society, and its recommendations would significantly enhance the role of the provincial government in education.

73. This brief historical survey is intended only to show the unique characteristics of French Roman Catholic education in Quebec in the past. Our immediate concern is with the educational opportunities of the Anglophone minority in the province. The contrast between the two will reinforce the point that this minority has had a unique opportunity to develop a distinctive system, designed in terms of its special needs, until now almost unaffected by the educational system preferred by the majority.

C. Protestant English-language Education in Quebec

A complete
education
in English

74. English is the mother tongue of fewer than one out of six Quebec residents. In many aspects of provincial life, however, English-speaking Quebecers cannot be considered a minority. There are corporations, institutions, and residential districts where they are in the majority, and many have found it possible to spend a lifetime in Quebec without ever using the language of the provincial majority. The educational régime is part of this almost paradoxical minority situation. At school the English-speaking children are not a minority group—they can attend English-language schools from kindergarten to university post-graduate level and these schools are part of a separate school organization, distinct from and different from the French-language schools in the province. The fact that the English-speaking children belong to a numerical minority does affect the schools in some ways, and proposed educational reforms may affect them even more. It remains true that Anglophones have access to complete educational opportunities in their own language

in the French-speaking province.¹ In the past, the Protestant school system has determined its own structure, established its own curriculum, set its own examinations, trained and certified its own teachers, and levied its own taxes.

75. The virtual autonomy of the Protestant committee accounts for the emergence of a distinct and different English-language Protestant organization of education. There was no minister of Education between 1875 and 1964 to co-ordinate the public schools in the province. The Council of Public Instruction was in theory responsible for the non-confessional aspects of public education but, ironically, the real significance of this council was that it did not interfere in education.

An autonomous
system

76. Thus the Protestant schools existed, in Siegfried's phrase, "without fear of conflict or dispute," and jurisdiction over all Protestant schools was left to the Protestant officers of the department of Public Instruction and the Protestant committee.

77. The Quebec department was headed by the superintendent, who reported to the cabinet; the provincial secretary was answerable to the legislature for the department. The superintendent was appointed by the government and it was not until 1940 that the first career educator was chosen. As a full-time official he was responsible for the operation of the department, but he served also by law as chairman of the Council of Public Instruction and of the Roman Catholic committee. He was an associate member of the Protestant committee but usually did not attend. There were two senior officials, one Roman Catholic and the other Protestant, with the rank of deputy minister, the latter serving as the official link between the Protestant committee and the department and acting as secretary for the committee. This appointment was also made directly by the government, sometimes with and sometimes without consultation with the committee. For many years it was also customary for some Protestant members of the cabinet or legislature to serve as members of the Protestant committee. Obviously, the degree of autonomy depended on several factors—the policies of governments, the competence of officials, the relationship of language and confessional

¹ It should be remembered that education in Quebec is officially structured along confessional rather than linguistic lines, so that it is not entirely accurate to talk of English-language and French-language education. Prior to the reorganization under one administrative head in 1964, the Catholic committee was responsible for both Francophone and Anglophone Roman Catholics, and the Protestant committee for both Francophone and Anglophone non-Catholics. The system administered by the Catholic committee included a significant number of schools for Anglophone students, so that in describing the development of English-language education in Quebec it will be necessary to discuss the Protestant and the Roman Catholic schools separately. The system administered by the Protestant committee, however, was almost entirely an English-language system, because the overwhelming majority of Protestants in Quebec are Anglophones. It is within relatively recent times that an effort has been made by the Protestant school committee, whose responsibility they are, to provide adequately for Francophone Protestants.

groups, and basic educational needs. In general it may be said that educational policy was determined by the confessional committees, while the financial administration and day-to-day operation of schools was under the jurisdiction of the department.

Similarity
to public
schools in
English-
language
provinces

78. The resulting system broadly resembled the public school systems of the English-language provinces of Canada. The classical colleges which played such a dominant role in the French Roman Catholic system in Quebec had no counterpart on the Protestant side. After completing a seven-year elementary programme, the Protestant student could attend a public high school for four years and might then continue his education at an English-language university in the province. The programme of studies for any single year differed to some extent from the equivalent programme in the public schools of other provinces, but the differences were not significant. A student could transfer from a Protestant school in Quebec to a public school in another province with no more academic inconvenience than a student moving from one English-speaking province to another.

The legal
framework

79. The legal framework within which English-language schools are created in Quebec is somewhat complicated. Before 1964, Anglophones could choose the confessionality of their school. Ratepayers elected commissioners, who then provided a school, hired the teachers, and collected taxes. If the Protestants were a majority in the community, the school would come under the Protestant committee and follow the English-language Protestant programme although, if there was no other school in the community, the school had to admit all children of school age. Roman Catholic students would follow the majority programme but would be exempted from religious instruction and religious exercises. If the majority in the community was Roman Catholic, the first school board would naturally associate itself with the Catholic committee but would have to admit Protestant students, again with the religious exemptions.

80. If members of the Protestant minority preferred to send their children to a separate school, they had the right to establish a dissident school. The elected members of the minority board—called trustees to distinguish them from commissioners—could again provide a school and hire teachers. They could levy taxes on all Protestant property-owners, but were obliged only to provide an education for Protestant children in the community. If there was only one Protestant family in the community, the parents could arrange to send their children—and their taxes—to a Protestant school in an adjoining school district. A Roman Catholic family had the same rights. Thus, in a mixed community the dissident school might be either Protestant or Catholic.

81. Legally, it makes a difference if the Protestant school board is a commission or a board of trustees. The Protestant schools under a commission are considered common or public schools and must admit all students, regardless of religion, unless there is also a Catholic board, in which case they must admit all non-Catholic students. On the other hand, the Protestant school under a board of trustees—a dissident school—is only obliged to admit Protestant students. The word Protestant, however, has usually been defined broadly by the courts, and in practice it usually includes all non-Catholics who wish to send their children to a Protestant school.¹

82. Schools in Montreal and Quebec City have a special legal status. Instead of common and dissident schools, there are two appointed school commissions, one Protestant and one Roman Catholic, in each city. The Jewish minority in Montreal, being neither Catholic nor Protestant, does not fit easily into this dual structure. The question of which system should be responsible for educating Jewish children, and the related question of which system should receive the tax revenue from Jewish property, came before the Council of Public Instruction in 1889, in one of its rare meetings, but no agreement was reached.² A *modus vivendi* was finally established between the Jewish community and the Protestant school board of Montreal. Subsequent legislation declared that Jews in the city of Montreal proper were to be considered Protestants in matters of education. In 1930, the Jews of Montreal were given the legal authority to establish their own school commission for Montreal but they preferred to continue the *modus vivendi* with the Protestant board. Today almost one-fifth of the students and teachers under the Greater Montreal Protestant School Board are Jewish, and since 1965 Jews have been represented on the board itself.

The Jewish
minority

83. Another important question is the extent to which the Protestant committee has been free to plan the co-ordination of the Protestant schools of the province in order to create a coherent system and to adapt to the changing needs of the minority. In practice, the committee has had an almost completely free hand. The history of the consolidation of Protestant school districts provides a convincing illustration. This consolidation was important to the Protestant minority because, in areas of scattered or declining population, consolidated schools offered the only means of providing a separate education for the Protestant minority. More recently, the diversification and specialization of education, especially at the secondary level, have meant that modern educational facilities are only possible in larger school units. In 1908

Consolidated
school
districts

¹ R. Hurtubise, "Le système scolaire de la province de Québec," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 24.

² L.-P. Audet, *Histoire du Conseil de l'instruction publique de la province de Québec, 1856-1964* (Montreal, 1964), 108-14.

the Protestant committee took the initiative and asked for the authority to consolidate schools when the enrolment was small and to provide the necessary transportation for the students. The Council of Public Instruction supported the request and the government provided the necessary legal authorization.¹ Rural consolidation was followed by urban centralization in 1925, when the 11 Protestant school boards in Montreal were merged. In 1944, on the advice of the Protestant committee, the provincial government established central school boards in various areas of the province. In each case the initiative came from the Protestant committee and in each case the request was based on the special needs of the Protestant system. The Protestant minority has thus been able to transform its educational system with the consent and the co-operation of the provincial authorities.

Teacher
training

84. The quality of every educational system depends in the final analysis on the quality of the teachers in the classroom. Here, too, the Protestant committee was given full responsibility for the training of teachers. The Protestant system was served by the English-language universities, and again this resembles the pattern in the English-speaking provinces. Certification, the permission to teach in the Protestant schools, could only be granted under the authority of the Protestant committee, thus providing yet another assurance of the autonomy of the minority system.

Finances

85. No educational system is independent, however, unless it is assured adequate revenue. Until recent years, local taxation provided the principal support for the school system. Protestant boards received the taxes from all Protestant property owners and, indeed, from most non-Catholics. Since the Protestant boards had the right to fix their own rates of taxation, they usually imposed higher levels than the Roman Catholics, who depended more on private institutions. The taxes on corporations were shared by the Protestant and Catholic boards, on the basis of the proportion of children of school age in each group in the community. Taxation rates have spiralled in the post-war years, but the costs of all education have increased more rapidly and the revenues of local boards have been supplemented by provincial grants. Government expenditure on education has risen sharply, especially in the 1960's, but the principle of financial equality has been respected. The same basic assistance from the provincial government is assured to all schools.

The issue of
compulsory
education

86. Inevitably there have been some limitations on the autonomy of the Protestant committee. Protestants and Roman Catholics in Quebec tended to be divided over the question of compulsory education, for example, with the former generally in favour and the latter opposed

¹ *Ibid.*, 164.

on the grounds that compulsory education would lead to state intervention in education. The issue was debated in the legislature as early as 1892, but no action was taken. In 1912 the Protestant committee proposed that education should be made compulsory for Protestants only, but this measure was defeated in the legislature. The French Canadian majority in the province was not prepared to allow such a significant divergence between the Catholic and Protestant systems within the province, and it was not until 1943, after the Catholic committee had accepted the idea, that school attendance became compulsory in Quebec schools.¹

A minority-language system designed by the minority

87. In most matters, however, the Protestant committee has had full control over the Protestant schools in Quebec and has shaped the system as it saw fit. It is generally agreed that the result has been a system that answers the needs of the Protestant community and provides public education of a high standard. In part this may be explained by the high concentration of the Protestant group in the metropolitan area of Montreal and by the higher average income of Protestant parents. For our purpose, however, the significant point is that an impressive English-language minority school system has been established in Quebec, through the public schools out of tax funds. It has been developed and administered by English-speaking Protestants for English-speaking children in the province, and has thus reflected the aims and aspirations of the minority. When we consider the history of the education of the French-speaking minorities in the other provinces, their desperate struggles to obtain small "concessions" for French-language education, and the enormous costs they have had to bear to provide anything resembling a complete education for their children in French, it will be apparent that the two situations cannot be compared.

D. Roman Catholic English-language Education in Quebec

88. The position of the English-speaking Roman Catholic students in Quebec has been entirely different from that of the Protestants. For administrative purposes they came under the Catholic committee and therefore formed only a small minority within a predominantly Franco-phone educational system. The gradual evolution of what was virtually a third school régime—an English Roman Catholic régime—provides an interesting case study of minority education in Quebec.

A third educational régime

89. There was never any question about permitting English as a language of instruction. There had been considerable Irish immigra-

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, I (Montreal, 1963), § 35.

tion during the first half of the 19th century, and when the first Council of Education was appointed in 1859 it included one Anglophone Catholic member. The large degree of autonomy enjoyed by local school authorities ensured that where Anglophone Roman Catholics were in the majority there would be an English-language school. In the words of a leading French Canadian educator, C.-J. Magnan, describing the situation in 1932:

School boards decide the main language of instruction in each school by engaging either English-speaking or French-speaking teachers. Where English-speaking Catholics are in the majority, they run their own schools. Neither the government nor the department of Public Instruction intervenes in matters of language, except to maintain the rights of the minority, whether Anglophone or Francophone.¹

As Magnan suggests, the language of instruction presented more difficulty in communities with both Francophone and Anglophone Roman Catholics. There the students were usually divided into separate classes or, when numbers warranted, into separate schools, and were taught in their own language. The principle that all children were entitled to instruction in their own language was never questioned, although it was sometimes difficult to put this principle into practice—in rural areas, for example. The importance given to the principle, however, can be illustrated by the instructions to Roman Catholic school inspectors. In 1912 the following order from the Superintendent of Public Instruction was circulated:

In some districts a certain number of Catholic schools are attended by French and English speaking pupils. You must insist upon the commissioners engaging teachers for such schools who are competent to properly teach both languages. A school where the majority of the pupils are French Canadians must be taught by a person who knows French thoroughly and who has a sufficient knowledge of English: while a school where the majority of the pupils are English or Irish Canadians must be taught by a teacher who knows English thoroughly and has a sufficient knowledge of French.

Whenever you find that a minority is not fairly treated you must let me know at once.²

Two years later the superintendent repeated this order with added force. The inspectors were instructed to “warn the commissioners that if they do not do justice to the minority in their municipality—whether it be French- or English-speaking—I will deprive the municipality of the

¹ C.-J. Magnan, *L'instruction publique dans la province de Québec* (Quebec, 1932), 47. See Appendix IV for original French version.

² *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Province of Quebec*, 1912-3 (Quebec, 1913), 600.

Government grants.”¹ The repetition of these instructions suggests that the minorities in some municipalities needed protection, but the principle that any child was entitled to be taught in his own language was clearly established.

90. In addition to the question of language of instruction there was the equally important question of the curriculum. Initially, the English Roman Catholic curriculum followed the French Catholic curriculum very closely, and most textbooks were a direct translation from the French. Apart from the programme for the study of English and a special course in Irish history, Roman Catholic schools in Quebec differed only in the language of instruction. Anglophone Catholics were not completely satisfied. As early as 1899, for example, an Irish Catholic organization proposed the adoption of the textbooks in use in the separate schools of Ontario, a proposal which was rejected at the time.²

The curriculum

91. The structure of the educational system at the secondary level soon became of more crucial importance to the Anglophone Catholics. The central institution of the French Catholic system was the classical college. By the turn of the century there were English-language classical colleges whose graduates were admitted by English-language universities in the province. Many Anglophone Catholics, however, did not find the classical college entirely satisfactory. Anglophone Protestants could complete their secondary education at public schools in four years, whereas classical colleges required eight years. Furthermore, Anglophone Catholics were more directly affected by the new trends in English-language education among Quebec Protestants as well as in other parts of the country and the continent. There was a shift from the classical tradition to an emphasis on science and even technical training, as well as an increasing belief in the desirability of secondary education for all children. Many Anglophone Catholic parents began to feel that the North American high school was a more appropriate institution for secondary education than the classical college.

Influence
of the
English-
language
Protestant
system

92. The divergence between French Catholic and English Protestant educational traditions posed serious difficulties for Anglophone Catholics. Changes came gradually and with remarkably little controversy, and a clear picture emerges of a shift from the French to the English pattern of education. In 1922, for example, Catholic High School—a religious, post-elementary educational institution—was refused recognition as a classical college because it had already broadened its programme to include subjects customarily taught in Protestant secondary schools. As the Matriculation Commission of the University of Montreal explained: “. . . a classical college is above all an institution for general

¹ *Ibid.*, 1914-5 (Quebec, 1915), 608.

² *Ibid.*, 1898-9 (Quebec, 1899), 382.

culture and not for premature specialization in the scientific or literary order. Consequently it cannot accept the idea of a scientific course which is annexed to the course of study with the proposed substitutions."¹ In the next decade, when the Catholic committee authorized the establishment of public secondary schools as well as classical colleges, the English-speaking Catholics went even further. Canon (now Bishop) G. Emmett Carter describes how the courses of study of the English Roman Catholic secondary schools were devised:

The high school situation was as follows: St. Patrick's in Quebec and D'Arcy McGee in Montreal were the main English Catholic public high schools of the province. In those days a great deal more latitude was given to local commissions than is permitted today, and in the first years of their operation these high schools followed a course of studies arranged by their own staff, patterned very closely on the McGill matriculation requirements and approved in a fashion by their own commissions.²

This programme was later revised by an English-speaking Catholic committee and the new programme received the official approval of the Catholic committee as a whole. At the secondary level, Anglophone Catholics had been allowed to design a curriculum most appropriate to their needs, even though in its broad lines it had more in common with the English Protestant than with the French Roman Catholic programme.

93. Changes at the elementary level soon followed. In 1937, when the French Catholic elementary programme was revised, an Anglophone Catholic sub-committee was appointed to adapt this programme for the English-language schools. This committee was given a wide latitude in preparing the programmes for religion, English, and French. It could propose minor revisions in geography and the history of Canada, but for the rest it was assumed "that the programme for the other subjects would remain the same for English schools as for French schools."³ The Anglophone sub-committee objected to the restrictions imposed by these terms of reference, arguing that their educational problems were different and that they needed to develop a programme specially designed in terms of their peculiar needs.⁴ The question was finally resolved after the new programme had been introduced in the English Catholic secondary schools. The decision was officially recorded in the minutes of the Catholic committee in 1944:

After hearing the remarks of Messrs. Michael McManus and Gerald Coughlin, the Committee decided to leave the English-language sub-

¹ *Ibid.*, 1922-3 (Quebec, 1923), 366.

² Carter, *The Catholic Public Schools of Quebec*, 77.

³ Comité catholique du conseil de l'instruction publique, procès-verbal du 5 octobre 1938, 30. (The document is in the Montreal Catholic School Commission Archives.) See Appendix IV for original French version.

⁴ Carter, *The Catholic Public Schools of Quebec*, 77.

committee free to draw up the programme according to its own lights, as the French-language sub-committee does at present. The two sub-committees will then have to meet together and try to establish a common programme sharing the largest possible number of items. Each sub-committee will then report to the Committee on Curricula and Textbooks, which will in turn report to the Catholic Committee.¹

Instead of a translation of the French Catholic programme with some adaptations, the Anglophone sub-committee prepared new courses of study which seemed more suitable for Anglophone Catholic students.

Teacher
training and
administrative
independence

94. The distinction between French- and English-language Catholic programmes inevitably led to separate English-language sections in other parts of the Roman Catholic educational system. Little attention had been paid to the training of teachers for English-language Catholic schools before these curriculum changes. Almost concurrently with the new programmes, English-language sections were established in some of the French Catholic normal schools and, in 1955, the St. Joseph Teachers College was established as a separate English-language normal school. The primary responsibility for selecting textbooks and for setting and marking examinations was also being delegated to Anglophone Catholics. They traditionally had representation on the Catholic committee and on many of the Catholic school commissions, and in Montreal, where most of the English-speaking Catholics are concentrated, the Montreal Catholic School Commission had an English-speaking Catholic as associate director-general of studies responsible for the administration of English-language Catholic schools. Thus, the principle of instruction in English for English-speaking Catholic students has led in the last 30 years to the development of an organized and almost separate system of English-language Catholic education in the province of Quebec. This evolution was possible because the French Catholic majority accepted this principle and the innovations in the Catholic system which put the principle into practice.

¹ Comité catholique du conseil de l'instruction public, procès-verbal du 3 mai 1944, 18. See Appendix IV for original French version.

A. The Broad Trends

95. The provincial educational systems in Canada differ from province to province, for within each province education is marked by unique historical traditions as well as by the structure of the provincial society. In spite of these differences, the English-language provinces have developed systems which have much in common. There has been a trend towards secular control of education, with public authorities accepting increasing responsibility in this area. This responsibility has usually taken the form of financial assistance at the beginning. Public authorities have inevitably been involved in determining which institutions were eligible and, eventually, in supervising curricula and academic standards and imposing social and economic goals.

96. It is important to emphasize this last fact, because the decision in the English-speaking provinces not to provide for the special educational needs of their French-speaking minorities has had fateful consequences. The main reason put forth in defence of this policy has been the need for a centralized administration and uniform academic standards. The avowed aim was to ensure equal opportunities in all parts of the province, but the insistence on one uniform English-language system of education resulted effectively in a denial of equal opportunity for the Francophones. Uniformity is not an end in itself: rigid uniformity may defeat the aim of equal educational opportunities if the students do not fit the majority pattern.

Lack of concern
for French-
language
minority

97. The existing educational systems in these provinces evolved gradually, but each major innovation was seen in the context of the provincial majority, and the appeals of the French-speaking minorities to provincial authorities fell for the most part on deaf ears. Starting from

a different option—that is, respect for the right of members of the official-language minority to an education in their mother tongue—it would still have been possible to achieve administrative efficiency within one system through two régimes. In the past, provincial authorities in the English-speaking provinces have failed to take account of this elementary fact.

98. Schools for Francophones were established in many English-speaking provinces, usually because the authorities were lenient in not enforcing regulations, or because they modified the regulations in such a way as to exempt the minority. These schools were exceptions to the provincial pattern, but they were nowhere part of a distinctive and separate system.

99. We do not propose to survey the history of French-language minority schools in Canada. It is necessary, however, to provide some historical context in order to make the present situation in each province comprehensible. We shall therefore refer to some of the major innovations in English-language provincial school systems in the past and show their effects on the French-speaking minorities in those provinces.

B. The Historical Context

Early
developments
towards
a system

100. Public education was only beginning to take shape in British North America at the time of Confederation. Education was still primarily a local responsibility. The one-room log schoolhouse was still typical and the essential qualifications of the schoolmaster were that he could read and write and set a good moral example. Pedagogical methods were far from sophisticated—the rod often providing the incentive if the child's natural thirst for knowledge was too quickly quenched! Nonetheless, many fundamental decisions about the nature of the public school system had been made or were at least foreshadowed. In what was to become the province of Ontario, the traditional view that education was the privilege of the few had been successfully challenged by the revolutionary idea that every child had a right to an elementary education. This new principle had raised questions of financing schools, of the roles of church and state in education, of minimum academic standards, and of the language of instruction. The system was not clearly outlined by 1867, even in Ontario, but the pattern was emerging—and the Ontario pattern was of special significance because Ontario often served as a model for other provinces.

Public
financing
of
education

101. The trend towards a public system of education can be illustrated by changes in the financing of elementary education. Local schools at first depended on fees paid by the students' parents. The idea that all children should be able to attend such schools led to the

conclusion that school costs should be shared by the community, and the usual method of collecting the necessary funds was a property tax. In Upper Canada, school property taxes were not yet compulsory, although local school boards had the legal right to levy such a tax. The fact that most school boards exercised this right is evidence of the widespread acceptance of the idea of public education by 1867. The provincial legislature also made a grant to local schools; the amount was small but inevitably it involved government officials in local school affairs. There was already a system of inspection, there were regulations about school books and curricula, and a normal school had been established for training teachers. Elementary schools were still primarily a local responsibility but a province-wide public school system was taking shape.

102. Local school taxes and legislative grants had already raised the controversial question of the respective functions of church and state in education. The first schools had been church schools. Religious denominations had varied opinions about the importance of a literate laity, but all denominations recognized the need for an educated clergy and had established elementary schools and also higher institutions of learning—such as grammar schools, classical colleges, and universities. When public elementary schools were established it was taken for granted that they would be Christian institutions. Moral training was considered at least as important as “book-learning,” and morality was considered inseparable from religious faith. The difficulty was that there were many forms of Christianity and communities could not provide separate schools for each denomination. The majority principle could not be invoked because denominational divisions were too intense.

The role
of the
church

103. The compromise acceptable to most parents was schools which were Christian but non-denominational. Unfortunately, it was not easy to isolate a common Christian heritage from denominational doctrines. For most Protestants the common basis was the King James version of the Bible, but this was unacceptable to Roman Catholics.¹ The profound religious division between Protestants and Roman Catholics in the 19th century accounts for the emergence of two types of schools—one non-denominational and one Roman Catholic. The decision to have both systems supported by property taxes was a difficult one for many Protestants to accept, but this compromise was adopted and then confirmed by the Separate School Act of 1863. For Ontario the compromise became part of the Constitution in 1867.

Two
systems

¹ See C. B. Sissons, *Church and State in Canadian Education, An Historical Study* (Toronto, 1959), 15-6.

Local
language
option

104. The confessional question overshadowed the language question in the schools in these years. The language of instruction was determined by the local authorities, which meant that children from minority groups could be educated in their own language. It was taken for granted by majority and minorities alike that all children should learn English; this doubtless accounts for the fact that no formal language requirements were enacted. This pragmatic attitude towards language is illustrated by a minor incident which occurred in the county of Essex in Upper Canada in 1851. Some French-speaking parents complained to the Council of Public Instruction, the forerunner of the department of Education, that the local teacher could not speak English. "Your memorialists," they wrote, "have discovered that French instruction alone availeth them next to nothing at all, being an ornamental rather than a useful requirement for the inhabitants of this country." The Council of Public Instruction, however, refused to intervene. English was not a requirement for a local teaching certificate and so there was nothing to prevent a local school board from hiring a unilingual Francophone teacher.¹

Certification
of teachers

105. The trend towards government supervision of publicly supported schools inevitably encroached on this local autonomy. In the debate on the Separate Schools Act of 1863 it was argued that local certificates should be abolished and that all teachers in separate schools should have certificates from the Council of Public Instruction. The argument was based on the grounds that "so long as the public money was granted to these schools, Parliament had a right to demand that they be efficiently managed." This requirement would probably have disqualified many of the teachers in French-speaking communities, since this certification did depend on passing examinations in English. As a compromise, individuals who were qualified to teach in Lower Canada were exempted from this regulation. This meant that French-speaking teachers could be hired by Upper Canada school boards, and instruction in French was still possible in publicly supported schools.²

Religion
rather
than
language

106. In the years immediately after Confederation, educational reforms continued the trend towards a more centralized school system, with provincial departments of Education imposing more uniformity on local schools. The rights of Roman Catholics within a provincial school system still remained the most controversial issue, and the question of language rights was seldom raised directly. Francophones were directly involved in these controversies because they were Roman Catholics and only indirectly because they were French-speaking. To

¹ C. B. Sissons, *Bi-lingual Schools in Canada* (Toronto, 1917), 14-23.

² Sissons, *Church and State*, 47-8.

the extent that the Francophones sensed a threat to their survival as a cultural group, they seem to have seen the threat in religious rather than linguistic terms.

C. Schools Controversies in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island in the 1870's

107. The relative insignificance of language in the schools controversies of the 19th century is illustrated by the debate over the New Brunswick Common Schools Act of 1871. Before this date local school trustees in New Brunswick had the authority to impose a property tax to finance a public elementary school. The statute of 1871 went further, by abolishing school fees and compelling trustees to levy a property tax; the aim was to ensure that elementary education was accessible to all students. The most controversial feature of the legislation, however, was the declaration that all tax-supported schools must be non-denominational. No reference was made to the language of instruction.

New Brunswick

108. The confessional issue provoked debates at the provincial and federal levels. There is no doubt that most people in New Brunswick supported the principle of non-denominational schools—subsequent provincial and federal elections gave little encouragement to separate school supporters. Roman Catholic advocates of separate schools, unable to persuade the governments, turned to the courts. Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act stated that no provincial statute was “to prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the province at the Union.” Denominational schools clearly existed in New Brunswick at the time of union, but these schools had no special legal status; they existed by custom and not by law. The Privy Council consequently declared that the Common Schools Act did not affect any existing legal right or privilege of denominational schools and so upheld the legislation. After 1871, public schools in New Brunswick were officially non-denominational. Roman Catholic parents had to pay the public school tax, even if they sent their children to private Roman Catholic schools.

No legal status for denominational schools

109. In practice the effect of the law was tempered after 1875 by informal concessions—“a gentleman's agreement.” Priests and nuns could qualify for teachers' certificates without attending normal school in Fredericton and could wear clerical garb in the classroom; religious instruction was permitted in the school outside regular school hours. The result was that, in predominantly Roman Catholic communities, public non-denominational schools might have clerical teachers teaching only Roman Catholic students and giving religious instruction in the

classroom. It may be questioned whether such schools differed significantly from the confessional schools existing before 1871.

Religion
rather than
language

110. To Canadians of today the surprising fact is that there was no discussion of the language of instruction to be used in these non-denominational public schools. French was undoubtedly used as a language of instruction in schools in Acadian communities at this time, and the Common Schools Act implicitly accepted this situation. The most vocal opponents of the Act were Irish Roman Catholics. The Acadians also opposed the new legislation—in fact one of the most publicized incidents provoked by the legislation occurred in the Acadian community of Caraquet, where two men were killed in a riot—but it is not easy to assess Acadian opinion because the Acadians were not yet a self-conscious or organized minority. There was no Acadian bishop, no Acadian politician, playing a significant role in provincial or federal politics at this time. What is more, Acadian opposition can be explained on religious grounds and there is no evidence to suggest that language was seen as a significant issue.

Language not
the main issue

111. French continued to be used as a language of instruction and its use was tacitly approved by the department of Education after 1871. A Francophone inspector was named for Acadian districts and some French textbooks were approved. Normally, teachers' certificates were issued to candidates who wrote the required examinations in English, but by the end of the century it was possible to qualify in French for a special certificate without even being tested for a knowledge of English.¹ These Acadian schools were expected to be bilingual, with English superseding French as the language of instruction in the higher grades, but it was not until relatively recently that the language of instruction became a controversial issue in New Brunswick education.

Prince Edward
Island

112. The same emphasis on confessionality rather than language can be seen in the Public Schools Act of Prince Edward Island in 1877. Again, this legislation provided for tax-supported non-denominational schools; it went even further than the New Brunswick legislation by stipulating that, if the public school did not have a large enough enrolment, parents in the community who sent their children to a private school would be liable to a fine. As in New Brunswick, the Roman Catholics protested against the Act, but without success.²

The language
issue

113. The issue of French as a language of instruction, however, was indirectly involved because there had been a special provision in the Act of 1868 for the certification of Francophone teachers. Acadian

¹ Based on René Baudry, "Les Acadiens d'aujourd'hui," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., Chap. XI, 61-9.

² The comments on the Prince Edward Island School Act of 1877 are based on L. Lapierre, "Federal Intervention under Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., Chap. II.

schools in the Rustico area had employed Acadian teachers and had used French—and hence Roman Catholic—textbooks authorized for Quebec. Bishop McIntyre argued from this example that Roman Catholic schools existed by law. The attorney general of the province pointed out that these French-language schools were not denominational schools by law, whatever they might be in practice, and that French could continue to be a language of instruction under the Act of 1877. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that the attorney general was not sincere. The government of the Island was opposed to tax-supported Roman Catholic schools but it was not opposed to the use of French as a language of instruction in public non-denominational schools. Bilingual public schools continued to operate after 1877.

D. The Manitoba Schools Controversy

114. One of the most bitter schools controversies was provoked by provincial legislation in Manitoba in 1890. Prior to 1870 there had been no laws covering education; the federal statute which created Manitoba in that year reflected the demands of the inhabitants of the Red River settlement—of whom slightly more than half were French-speaking—and guaranteed the right to denominational schools which existed “by law or practice.” In the following year the provincial government established a dual system of education, with separate Protestant and Roman Catholic sections under two superintendents, Protestant and Roman Catholic, similar to the Quebec model.

In the beginning, a dual system

115. The years that followed saw a large influx of Protestant Anglophone immigrants, many from Ontario, who were determined “that Manitoba must be made British and that a ‘national’ school system should be the agent to accomplish the task.”¹ Accordingly, in 1890, at the same time as the official use of the French language was abolished in the legislative assembly, the civil service, and the courts, the dual system of education was replaced by a non-denominational system under a single board of Education.

An official non-denominational system

116. The religious and racial controversies of central Canada in the 1880’s, including the agitation over the execution of Louis Riel and over the Jesuits’ Estates Bill,² played their part in this legislation. The justification given by the provincial government, however, was that the Roman Catholic schools in the province were inferior and that the regulations governing teachers’ qualifications and academic standards

Contributing causes

¹ W. L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History* (Toronto, 1957), 245.
² See Mason Wade, *The French Canadians, 1760-1945* (Toronto, 1955), 421-5, for a summary of the Jesuits’ Estates controversy.

should be uniform throughout the province. Certainly the difficulties involved in developing a school system in sparsely settled districts were very great; consequently, there was a tendency to view anything which perpetuated differences as undesirable. In this context the rights of French Catholics, recognized in the Manitoba Act, were seen by the now substantial Anglophone majority as "special privileges" which overtaxed the educational resources.

Legal
decisions

117. Appeals against the legislation were made to the Manitoba Courts, which upheld the legislation; to the Supreme Court of Canada, which unanimously reversed the judgement; and to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which overruled the decision of the Supreme Court. The Manitoba School Act was upheld on the grounds that the rights to denominational schools which had existed prior to 1870 had not been revoked. Parents could still send their children to private religious schools, as they had done in the days of the Red River colony. The difference, however, was that now no denominational school could claim a share of the school taxes, and Roman Catholic and Protestant parents alike would now be taxed to support public, non-denominational schools. In a subsequent decision, however, the courts recognized that publicly supported denominational schools had been established in Manitoba between 1870 and 1890 and that the federal government could restore this privilege to the Roman Catholic minority. After prolonged indecision the federal government introduced a remedial bill in 1896 to re-establish Roman Catholic separate schools, but the session ended before the bill was passed and in the ensuing election the Conservative government, which had introduced the legislation, was defeated. The Liberal government under Laurier preferred compromise and in 1897 the provincial government under Greenway agreed to allow Roman Catholic teachers to be hired to teach classes of Roman Catholic students and to allow religious instruction at the end of the school day. This Laurier-Greenway compromise left the single non-denominational public school system intact, but the concessions to Roman Catholics within this system eliminated the most serious grievances of the religious minority.

118. In constitutional terms, the denominational issue was the only issue—because the constitutional guarantees referred only to denominational schools. In political terms, however, the religious issues cannot be separated from the language question. By the 1890's French-speaking Canadians had become more conscious of the double role of separate schools in maintaining their cultural identity. Roman Catholic schools not only separated Francophone children from Protestants, but in many communities they also separated them from Anglophones. The language was considered the guardian of the faith—children who con-

tinued to speak French were more likely to remain good Roman Catholics. Language was now seen also as a second—and to some even as an equally important—ingredient of French Canadian cultural identity. Separate schools in French-speaking communities, being both Catholic and French, were doubly significant to the Francophone minority. This helps to explain why the Anglophone Roman Catholic bishops of Canada were prepared to accept the Laurier-Greenway compromise, however reluctantly, but the Francophone bishops continued to oppose the settlement until Rome recommended submission.

Transition in
French-English
relations

119. The decade of the 1890's can thus be seen as a period of transition in French-English relations in Canada. Controversies over language in the past had been peripheral, but from this time on they were more central to the broader issue of cultural survival. In the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island school questions, the arguments on both sides concentrated on the denominational issue. French was used in the schools both before and after the crisis. In the Manitoba schools question, however, both confessionality and the use of the French language were menaced. The Laurier-Greenway compromise had included a specific guarantee that where 10 of the pupils spoke the French language (or any language other than English) as their native language, the teaching of such pupils should be conducted in French (or such other language) and English upon the bilingual system. This regulation became impossible to implement with the arrival in Manitoba of substantial numbers of immigrants speaking a variety of languages. In 1916 the provincial authorities unilaterally rejected the bilingual system of the Laurier-Greenway compromise, insisting that English must be the only language of instruction in provincial schools. French disappeared as a language of instruction, along with other languages.

120. At the same time a crisis developed in Ontario over the use of French in the public schools there. The controversy over Regulation 17 illustrates the shift in emphasis to language, with denominational questions being raised only indirectly. Language had become the central issue in the schools controversies.

E. The Ontario "Bilingual" Schools Question: Regulation 17

121. The controversy in Ontario which came to a head with the enactment of Regulation 17 in 1912 centred on the nature and purpose of the so-called "bilingual" schools. These were the schools in which the French-speaking minority was educated, and in which some French was used when schools were primarily local institutions. It was logical to teach French-speaking children in French because this was the

language they understood; it was logical to teach them English because it was useful to know the language of the majority. With the need to develop a provincial school system, decisions had to be taken concerning the place of the education of the Francophones within this system. Because the option of cultural duality in English-speaking provinces was not accepted, the possibility of developing two administrative streams, as in Quebec, was not envisaged. Instead, a single centralized administration was created with the objective of imposing uniform provincial standards.

The place
of the
French
language

122. The continuing extension of provincial supervision and control led in time to an attempt to regulate the language use in schools for the French-speaking minority. It was decided that English would replace French as the language of instruction as soon as the students understood English. This attempt to regulate language use in the schools for Franco-Ontarians inevitably provoked bitter disputes. It not only raised the question of the survival of the language in Ontario, it also raised the question of the place of French language and culture in Canada.

The role of
"bilingual"
schools

123. The first regulation on the language of instruction in Ontario schools, issued in 1885, stated that English was to be taught in all provincial schools, and teachers' certificates in the future would require a knowledge of English grammar.¹ The provincial opposition criticized the government over the next few years for not definitely insisting on priority for English in Francophone communities where, it was argued, English was taught as a foreign language if it was taught at all. The debate coincided with the Riel crisis and the discussion of the Jesuits' Estates Bill and may be seen as another manifestation of the cultural division of the era. By 1890 the provincial government had further defined "bilingual" schools by stating that English was to be the language of instruction and communication "except so far as this is impracticable by reason of the pupil not understanding English." Otherwise, French-speaking students were to follow the same courses of study prescribed for all public schools in the province, except that additional instruction in the French language was authorized.² The implication was that "bilingual" schools were English-language schools in which French could be used in the early years of school and could be taught as a supplementary subject. A similar definition of "bilingual" schools was adopted in the Maritimes by the turn of the century.³ The demand from some elements of the Anglophone majority that French be eradicated from the schools was rejected, but the "bilingual" schools

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario 1950* (Toronto, 1950), 395-9.

² Sissons, *Bi-lingual Schools*, 68.

³ G. Rawlyk, "Acadian Education in Nova Scotia," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

were nonetheless expected to graduate English-speaking students. In the words of the Ontario minister of Education responsible for the first language regulations, "... we can better assimilate the people and the language of other nationalities by generosity than by coercion."¹ The Orange Order in Ontario, however, was agitating for more draconic measures—in the words of the *Orange Sentinel*, "It is this refusal to assimilate that makes the French Canadian so difficult to get along with."²

124. The fact that there were few protests from Franco-Ontarians at this time may have been due to the lack of provincial organizations and effective spokesmen. But one significant development did occur. In 1890 most of the schools for Franco-Ontarians had been public schools, but by 1910 the majority had become separate schools.³ The shift suggests a search for greater security as well as growing consciousness of cultural identity.

125. The new regulations were not rigidly enforced, and French remained the major language of instruction in many of the "bilingual" schools. The real crisis had its origins in the years around 1910, provoked in part by the renewed interest of the provincial government in educational reform. The department of Education showed more interest in supervising provincial schools and, among other steps, asked F. W. Merchant, Chief Inspector of Public and Separate Schools, to investigate the "bilingual" schools in the Ottawa valley. Merchant reported in 1909 that "the atmosphere of the schools is undoubtedly French," although he attributed this to a lack of trained and experienced teachers. His recommendation was merely to improve teacher training.⁴ At this stage there was nothing to suggest an official campaign against these schools at the government level.

126. In the years after 1890 there had been a steady influx of Francophones into Ontario and they now numbered more than 200,000—many of them concentrated in the Ottawa valley. Their sense of cultural identity had also been fostered by the often bitter disputes with Anglophone Roman Catholics over control of the parish or the separate school. Some Irish Catholic clergymen feared that French Canadian insistence on the use of French in the schools would endanger the separate schools in the province; in 1910 Bishop Fallon of London, for example, stated that he wanted "to wipe out every vestige of bilingual teaching, in the public schools of this Diocese."⁵ This rivalry with their

The schools
crisis

Language
rather
than
religion

¹ Cited in M. Barber, "The Ontario Bilingual Schools Issue, 1910-1916" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Queen's University, 1964), 15. (Speech by G. W. Ross, March 8, 1889.)

² Cited in *Ibid.*, 7. (*Orange Sentinel* for Nov. 3, 1910.)

³ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴ Cited in *Ibid.*, 27.

⁵ F. A. Walker, *Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario, A Documentary Study* (Toronto, 1964), 243.

co-religionists gave language a heightened significance, because the disputes were based on language and not religion. The Franco-Ontarians were also disturbed by a legal decision in 1904 which disqualified Ontario teachers who had only Quebec teachers' certificates. The judgement declared that the pre-Confederation agreement permitting teachers from Lower Canada to teach in what was now Ontario was valid only for certificates issued prior to 1867. The result was that teaching orders from Quebec could no longer staff the minority-language separate schools of Ontario. By 1910 Franco-Ontarians were convinced of threats to the existing schools and, conscious of growing numbers and cultural solidarity, they were no longer satisfied with a mere defence of the status quo. The Association canadienne-française d'éducation d'Ontario proposed a new definition for "bilingual" schools. It resolved that French should be a language of instruction and communication, with French textbooks and French examinations, and in effect insisted that "bilingual" schools should be predominantly French rather than English.

The
broader
issue

127. Most Anglophone Ontarians had accepted the "bilingual" schools as schools in which the use of French was permitted as a stage in converting to instruction in English. They had been concerned because the regulations to this effect were ignored and that, in fact, little English was taught. Now, however, the Francophones were demanding that these regulations be rescinded and that French be accepted officially as a language of instruction. The debate was clearly centred on the place of the French language and culture in Ontario, and the two opposing concepts were on a collision course.

A second
inquiry

128. The government postponed action by again asking F. W. Merchant to investigate all the minority-language schools in the province. His report, tabled in 1912, confirmed his earlier appraisal. He found these schools "on the whole, lacking in efficiency." Some students were not acquiring an adequate knowledge of English, although he blamed this more on the teachers' lack of training than on a deliberate defiance of the law; of the 538 teachers he saw, only one had a first-class certificate and only 58 held the second-class certificate which the department of Education considered the acceptable minimum qualification for teachers. Merchant still approved using French as the medium of instruction in the first years of school; his major recommendation was still to improve the training of the teachers.¹ The decision of the government was announced a few months after Merchant's report, in the form of Regulation 17.

Regulation
17

129. Regulation 17 reaffirmed the policy of 1890 more explicitly and more rigorously. English was to become the sole language of instruction

¹ Barber, "The Ontario Bilingual Schools Issue," 67-71.

after the third year, and the study of French as a subject was limited to one hour a day. To ensure compliance with Regulation 17, a dual system of inspection was instituted, with both English and French inspectors visiting the "bilingual" schools. As far as the government was concerned, there was no question that these were to be schools in which English was the dominant language. Both provincial parties officially supported this concept, although many critics wished to exclude French entirely from Ontario schools.

130. The Franco-Ontarians denounced Regulation 17 as a deliberate and obvious policy of assimilation, and mounted a vigorous campaign of resistance. The conflict was bitter, with Irish Catholics supporting the legislation. French Canadians in Quebec indignantly protested against this denial of educational rights to the French-speaking minority in Ontario, pointing to the educational rights accorded to the English-speaking minority in Quebec. Franco-Ontarian school trustees, teachers, and students refused to comply with the regulation and, with financial assistance from their compatriots in Quebec, tried to conduct French-language schools despite the law. The dispute was further embittered by the crisis over conscription during the war, which also set Anglophones against Francophones.

Franco-
Ontarian
resistance

131. Regulation 17 remained the law of the province for some 30 years, but soon after the war a *modus vivendi* which eased the crisis was tacitly accepted. In 1927, Merchant once more produced a report on the "bilingual" schools, this time in co-operation with Judge Scott and Louis Côté. This report continued to stress that all students should acquire an adequate knowledge of English, but it also argued that the teaching of French should not be neglected. The more conciliatory tone of this report was reflected in the changes in the minority-language schools in the following years. Special courses of study were prepared for the teaching of French as a subject and French textbooks were prepared for other subjects in the earlier grades. A normal school was opened at the University of Ottawa to train teachers for the "bilingual" schools, and Francophone inspectors took over most of the supervision of these schools. Legally, English was still the language of instruction and communication after the third grade, but in practice it was not unusual to find French used in all the elementary grades. The failure to resolve the conflict, however, resulted in what might be called a "non-system" of education for Franco-Ontarians. These schools operated in isolation; they were not part of the English-language system of education in the province, and they lacked the planning, the guidance, and the co-ordination essential to an adequate educational régime.

A *modus
vivendi*

F. Summary

132. This brief summary of crises over “bilingual” schools is by no means complete or comprehensive. No mention has been made, for example, of the gradual elimination of French as a language of instruction in the Northwest Territories before 1905 and the confirmation of the existing school system when the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were formed in that year. The survey does, however, illustrate the broad historical trends which explain the education of the French-speaking minorities today. In all the provinces except Quebec, English became the dominant language of instruction and, when instruction in French was permitted, it was considered an exception to the general rule. It is obvious that a difference in the view of the nature of the country was fundamental to the disputes over education. When these provincial governments set out to establish certain academic standards in education, they did not recognize a necessity to provide equally for the needs of both linguistic groups. The French-language minority was expected to adjust to an English-language system of education, and ultimately to the language itself. The French-speaking minorities, on the other hand, had expected that their language rights would be respected and that they would have the means to develop an educational régime suited to their needs.

133. The resulting clash between the linguistic minority and the provincial authorities meant a loss to both groups—principally, of course, and tragically, to the minorities themselves, because their schools were disrupted and their education suffered. When the provincial authorities encountered strong opposition to the law, they agreed to certain concessions or closed their eyes to evasions of the law. But this was a far cry from providing the resources to enable the French-speaking minority to be assured of an adequate education in their mother tongue. As a consequence, educational standards in the minority-language schools were frequently low, and the obstacles to continuing their schooling in the French language discouraged many from completing their education. Since it is in the interests of the whole society that all its members receive an adequate education, the loss in human resources was incalculable.

134. It is clear, therefore, that the objectives of official minority-language schools must be clarified and must be accepted by both groups if disputes are to be avoided. The ultimate aim must be the best possible education—one that will foster the use and development of the mother tongue and, at the same time, ensure an adequate knowledge of the majority language. Provincial governments have insisted on establishing educational standards for all public schools, and they should continue

to accept this responsibility. Since it is to the advantage of both the minority-language group and the majority to have high educational standards, there need be no dispute over the principle, but there will need to be an equal respect for both official languages.

135. It should also be noted that these past crises involved only elementary schools. As we shall see in Chapter V, we are a long way from overcoming the problems and clarifying the aims of official minority-language schools, even at the elementary level, although provincial authorities have become more conscious of the requirements of the French-speaking minorities and are more willing to meet them. Today, however, education at the secondary level is considered necessary, so the question of minority-language public education is now extended to this level. Secondary education for the linguistic minority is already a topic of discussion, and changes now being introduced in the secondary programmes in some provinces are an attempt to meet this situation. This survey of the past may help us to resolve some of the difficulties with a minimum of confusion and controversy.

A. Elementary Schools

136. When English-speaking children first go to school in Quebec today, they will almost certainly go to an English-language school. If, in exceptional cases, their parents enrol them in a French-language school so that they will learn French, this is the result of a parental decision; English-language schools are available. If the children live in Montreal, the provision of these schools presents no problem to the educational authorities. Almost three quarters of the Quebec population of English mother tongue lives in metropolitan Montreal—nearly half a million. It is therefore relatively simple to provide elementary school facilities for the children. Some of the children will live further from an English-language school than if they lived in an English-speaking city, but this is a relatively minor inconvenience. The situation is complicated to some extent by the denominational structure of the school system in Quebec, because Anglophone Roman Catholics and Protestants attend different schools, but again, for the Montreal metropolitan area, there are enough students in each case to make it relatively simple to provide English-language schools for both Roman Catholic and Protestant children.

Elementary
English-language
education in
Montreal

137. Outside Montreal it is not always so easy. In some communities and some rural areas there may be only a few Anglophone families and some of these families may be Protestant and others Roman Catholic. In these special circumstances it may be difficult to provide one—to say nothing of two—English-language elementary schools. In spite of these difficulties, however, the principle that Anglophones have the right to be educated in English has been respected.

Outside the
Montreal area

138. The Gaspé area offers an illustration of the school facilities provided in districts where the population is scattered but nonetheless

The Gaspé area
an illustration

includes Anglophone Protestants and Roman Catholics as well as Francophone Roman Catholics.

139. In a working paper prepared for the Commission, a comparison was made of schools administered by the two consolidated Roman Catholic school districts of Péninsule and Baie-des-Chaleurs and the consolidated Protestant school district of Gaspé, which covers almost the same territory.¹ In the 1965-6 school year, the Protestant school commission provided an elementary education for some 1,640 English-speaking students. The enrolment varied from almost 500 students in Chaleur Bay, where there were three schools and 18 classrooms, to 18 students at Chandler, in one school with two classrooms.² In every case, however, the students attended an English-language school and were taught by an English-speaking teacher. In the same school year the two Roman Catholic school commissions were responsible for more than 4,000 students at the elementary level, including approximately 3,000 Francophone Roman Catholics and 1,000 Anglophone Roman Catholics. The number of French-speaking students under a local school board ranged from 622 at Gaspé to 17 at Grande Grève, and for the Anglophones, from 186 at Chandler to six at Cap d'Espoir. In every case the English-speaking Roman Catholic students were taught in their mother tongue in a separate class, although frequently their classroom was in a school building which also included classrooms for the Francophones.

140. This dispersal of the total student body of this region into what are virtually three school systems obviously poses administrative and academic problems. In some cases one teacher in a single classroom had students ranging from six to 13 years of age. The division of the student body along religious lines, however, has been fundamental in the educational system of the province, and the division of Roman Catholic students into Francophone and Anglophone groups is taken for granted. The administrative difficulties are no less a problem in Quebec than in the English-speaking provinces, but they are obviously not insurmountable.

B. Secondary Schools

Secondary
English-language
education in
Montreal

141. The problems posed by English-speaking children at the secondary level are more complex. Education becomes more specialized at the secondary level and the students in any one grade may be

¹ Jean-Yves Drolet, "Étude des conditions faites aux étudiants anglophones dans les régions du Québec où la population canadienne-anglaise est peu nombreuse," a working paper prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

² Two of the local school boards actually administered their elementary schools independently (123 students in all) although they came under the consolidated school district at the secondary level.

separated into academic, commercial, and vocational streams. In addition, average enrolment drops as children leave school. For the metropolitan area of Montreal, the large number of English-language Protestant and Roman Catholic students makes it possible to provide diversified educational programmes at the secondary level. These students may have to travel some distance in order to attend a school suitable to their religious faith and which provides the appropriate type of secondary school training, but such schools are available.

142. It is less feasible to make these diversified programmes available in many communities outside Montreal. What happens, for example, in a community where the Anglophone minority includes only a small number of children of secondary school age, and these children include both Roman Catholics and Protestants? Again using Gaspé as our example, we find that the principle of English-language schools for English-speaking children is still rigorously respected. In the 1965-6 school year there were 530 English-speaking students at the secondary level in Protestant schools in the area, and 339 in Roman Catholic schools. In all there were 12 schools offering instruction in English at the secondary level.

Outside the
Montreal area

143. The educational facilities provided for such a small and scattered group are necessarily limited. In most cases, English-speaking children attend a school offering both elementary and secondary education. If they are Roman Catholics they may attend a school where there are parallel classes in French for the Francophone Catholics of the district. In some of these schools there are no laboratories; none of the schools offers technical or commercial programmes. There are plans for further consolidation of secondary schools in Gaspé, but many students already travel considerable distances to go to school. Even by combining Anglophone Protestants and Roman Catholics in the consolidated schools, the numbers are probably too small to envisage composite high schools offering all the options available in urban schools. In spite of the many problems involved, Anglophones can attend English-language schools in areas such as Gaspé, even though their numbers are small—but the size of the population places inevitable limitations on choice of educational programmes.

C. Recommendations of the Parent Commission

144. It is not easy to describe the place of English-speaking students in the educational systems of Quebec today, because the entire structure of education is being radically transformed. In 1961, the provincial government appointed a Royal Commission on Education to study "the organization and financing of education in the province." The

Parent Commission, as it is commonly called, submitted its report in five volumes between 1963 and 1966. Some of the recommendations of the Parent Commission have already been adopted and others are still under discussion. The changes envisaged by the commission are so sweeping and so comprehensive that if they are all introduced it is impossible to say with any certainty how they will affect the English-language educational institutions in the province. Our comments and our conclusions must be considered in the light of this fact.

The principle of
a single provincial
system

145. The Parent Commission was not directly concerned with the education of the Anglophone minority. Its recommendations covered the structure of education in the province and one of the underlying assumptions was that all schools should fit into a single administrative system. The recommendations of necessity involved some recognition of the distinction between Roman Catholic and Protestant students and between Francophone and Anglophone students, but these distinctions were not to contradict the basic principle of a single provincial system designed to provide similar and equivalent educational opportunities for all children in the province.

The need for
reforms

146. The commission concluded that major reforms were needed. The role of education was seen in the broad perspective of its importance to citizens living in a modern industrial society:

It is universally understood that the society of today—and even more that of tomorrow—makes unprecedented demands on education. For modern civilization to progress, and progress is a condition of its survival, every citizen without exception must have adequate schooling, and a very considerable number must receive advanced instruction. Hence the educational crisis is one aspect of a far-reaching crisis in civilization. A new world is emerging and seeks to fix its own image in terms of the educational reforms urged from every quarter. In such a world education faces problems on four major fronts; the explosive increase in the number of students, the current scientific and technological revolution, changes in living conditions and an accelerating shift in intellectual attitudes.¹

147. These problems weighed heavily on the province of Quebec because, according to the commission, the educational system there had failed to respond to needs of a modern society. The aims should be to make education available to all children, to ensure that this education is appropriate to the needs and capacities of each student, and to prepare each child to earn his living and to assume his responsibilities as a citizen. Provincial reforms, however, had been delayed or frustrated by the fragmentation of education in the province, by the divisions between Roman Catholic and Protestant, French and English, academic and technical, public and private, and elementary, secondary, and

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, I (Montreal, 1963), § 83.

university levels. Given this situation, there could be no effective planning and no way to implement any plan which attempted to meet the needs of a modern society. How could the successive levels of education be co-ordinated to allow students to choose the programme best suited to their interests and abilities? How could programmes of studies be designed, tested, and revised? How could teachers be trained for the reformed system? And how could the money be found for a post-elementary student population which was expected to treble in size within 20 years? For the commission, the answer was obvious. It was essential that the fragments be integrated into a unified provincial system.

148. The commission concluded that such a system could only be established by the provincial government. According to the commission:

The role of
provincial
government

Private initiative certainly is unable effectively to carry out such ambitious objectives or suffice for so many tasks—construction, geographic allocation, co-ordination, recruitment of personnel, finance. Individual associations and establishments are each inclined to envision the educational problem from their own special point of view. The government must place these problems within a general perspective. The task cannot be entrusted to private agencies or individuals, however devoted they may be. To do so would result in the neglect of some areas. A master plan is needed, an orientation united to serve the common good, a general economy for the whole system which will avoid duplication, focus effort and establish budgetary priorities aimed at a better or more extensive use of present resources. This task of organization and finance properly belongs to the political authorities responsible for the common good.¹

149. The commission therefore recommended that all educational services should be grouped in a single government department and that this department be given full authority over the entire system of education. The new department would be responsible for the co-ordination and unification of all parts and levels of the system, including all types of institutions—private and public, Roman Catholic and Protestant, French and English.

Recommendations
for a new
system

150. The commission then proceeded to discuss the co-ordinated and unified system which this department of Education should establish. The proposed system can be simply outlined. The typical student would attend kindergarten for one year, elementary school for six years, and secondary school for five years. The secondary schools would be comprehensive, with the orientation of the student towards academic, technical, or commercial programmes beginning in the third year. More radical was the proposal for a separate level of study interposed between secondary and higher education. The institutions which the com-

¹ *Ibid.*, § 125.

mission recommended would also be comprehensive, offering a two-year programme with a variety of options permitting students a degree of specialization appropriate whether they intended to find employment or go on to university. The commission then went on to the programmes of study at these various levels, discussing not only the broad aims and methods but also the pedagogical principles which should underlie the course of study for each subject. Great importance was given to the training of teachers.

Respect for
diversity

151. In the final two volumes, the commission dealt directly with confessional, linguistic, and cultural diversity and proposed principles and safeguards at the school level which would respect this diversity within a unified administrative system. It is here that the immediate and obvious problems of the Anglophone minority arise, although almost every section of the Parent Commission report directly affects minority-language education in the province.

The moral rights
of the English-
language minority

152. The commission did not question the long-established right of the English-speaking students to be taught in their own language. It noted the fact that nothing in the B.N.A. Act obliged the province to provide English-language schools for the minority but went on to say that "in Quebec, the English-language schools have made secure for themselves a right to exist, which no one today, as far as we know, would think of contesting." Indeed the Commission went even further and instead of a reluctant acceptance of these schools it argued that they were a precious asset not only to the minority but to the province as a whole:

They satisfy needs which the English-speaking minority can rightly consider legitimate. They have even established within the school system of the province a noteworthy educational tradition and have made valuable cultural contributions to the society of Quebec as a whole. Therefore we believe that the English-language public schools should not only continue to exist, but that they must also progress in their own fashion.¹

Wherever there were enough English-speaking students, the commission took it for granted that they would attend English-language schools. Outside the metropolitan areas this would not always be possible, especially at the secondary and post-secondary levels, and English-language classes would then have to be provided side by side with French-language classes in the same school. The right of Anglophones to be taught in their own language is so firmly embedded in the traditions of Quebec that such an arrangement could be taken for granted by the commission.

A co-ordinated
system

153. The problem of the cultural orientation of the courses of study for English-speaking students required more consideration. As we have

¹ *Ibid.*, IV (1966), § 160.

seen, both English-language Protestant and Roman Catholic schools have developed their own curricula. The commission was sharply critical of the confusion within the provincial educational system resulting from such diverse and unco-ordinated courses of study. Children of the same age studied different subjects or approached the same subjects in different ways, depending upon whether they were Anglophone or Francophone, Protestant or Roman Catholic, or even depending on the institution they attended. They might also require a different number of years to complete elementary, secondary, or post-secondary education. The commission proposed co-ordinated systems with similar courses of study for all students at each level, and with programmes of the same duration leading to equivalent diplomas. Few would deny the right of the provincial government to co-ordinate its educational system in this way. The problem, however, was whether it would be possible to distinguish between the cultural values of Anglophone and Francophone groups within such a co-ordinated system. English-speaking students might be taught in English, but could the new courses of study reflect their cultural identity and their cultural needs?

154. The commission foresaw little difficulty in co-ordinating the programmes of study for Anglophone and Francophone students. It rejected any distinction between the aims and methods of teaching such subjects as mathematics or the physical sciences to Francophones and Anglophones, and recommended that the programmes in these subjects should be the same regardless of language or confessionality. The teaching of Canadian history presented more difficulty, because the commission found it natural for Francophones to give more time to the era of New France and for Anglophones to be more interested in the post-Conquest period. Even here they recommended that the programmes "be the same, as far as outline is conceived, in French Schools and English Schools."¹

One basic
programme
of studies

155. The teaching of French and English as subjects obviously required completely different courses of study. Even for the language programmes, however, the broad outlines were similar. The commission attached great importance to the teaching of the mother tongue, whether English or French, because such teaching "is at the very root of culture and education."² And, although it contrasted the problems involved in teaching English or French in North America, most of their proposals were applicable to the teaching of either language. And in both types of schools, either French or English was to be given priority as the second language taught, although English might be introduced later in the French-language schools because French, being a minority language

Mother-tongue
and second-lan-
guage teaching

¹ *Ibid.*, III (1965), § 856, Recommendation 272.

² *Ibid.*, § 631.

in North America, is more vulnerable to anglicisms. For all students the second language was to be taught essentially as a mean of communicating with their compatriots.

156. In general, then, it is apparent that the commission assumed that the curriculum content should be similar for all students in the province. This is not to suggest that the cultural differences of the two groups were ignored.

Respect for
cultural difference

157. The cultural values of each group were to be respected and fostered, but this was to be achieved not so much by differing curricula as by the emphasis on the teaching *of* the mother tongue and the teaching *in* the mother tongue. Minority-language schools in Quebec would reinforce the English Canadian culture, not because they would teach different subjects or teach subjects differently, but because they would teach in English and would give high priority to the teaching of English as a subject.

158. The commission did not attempt to outline in detail courses of study for all the subjects to be taught. It did, however, assess the special contributions each subject could make to the development of the student and suggest the most appropriate methods of attaining these objectives. In each case the commission assumed that the objectives would be the same for Francophone and Anglophone students; it recommended that the courses of study be based on the same pedagogical principles and that there be continuous contact and close co-operation between the two educational streams.

Recommendations
for equivalent
diplomas

159. Consistent with these recommendations, but even more radical in its impact on the existing systems, was the recommendation that educational programmes of the same duration should lead to equivalent diplomas. Elementary school consisted of seven grades in both the Roman Catholic and Protestant systems; the commission recommended that this be reduced to six. The changes recommended for the secondary level were more drastic. The commission proposed a secondary level which would be a direct extension of the elementary, with a five-year programme in which a system of options would permit specialization and streaming within a comprehensive secondary school. Students would then go on to the two-year comprehensive institutes¹ and from there to the university or to the work world. This proposed structure would not radically change the existing English-language schools in the province. Comprehensive high schools have already been introduced, and the combined length of the primary and secondary programmes would remain unchanged. The two-year pre-university programme of the institute has no counterpart in the existing order but, as the commission noted, the institutes would relieve the English-language uni-

¹ These institutes have been established under the name "General and Professional Colleges"—*Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel (CEGEP)*.

versities of the heavy enrolment in the more elementary courses now offered. The impact of the new structures would be much greater on the existing French-language régime in the province because the classical college, so long the control institution, would be completely transformed.

160. This co-ordinated sequence, with its four levels of institutions—elementary, secondary, institute, and university—is obviously complicated by the linguistic and confessional divisions within the province. The Parent Commission recognized English and French as languages of instruction. In addition, it recognized the traditional distinction between Roman Catholic and Protestant students. Indeed, it went even further and argued that these two confessional categories were no longer inclusive enough to encompass all students, and it recommended a further category which it called non-confessional. Wherever possible, there would be schools providing a linguistic and religious atmosphere appropriate to the student. Since in each official-language group there would be some students in each of the three religious categories, this could mean up to six types of schools. These recommendations demonstrate the determination of the commission to propose an educational system that would reflect the cultural diversity within the province, in spite of the evident administrative complexity. Even the obvious need for an integrated and co-ordinated system had to be shaped in such a way as to recognize and protect the various cultural groups.

Cultural and linguistic diversity within a co-ordinated system

161. The solution proposed by the commission was to recommend that, wherever warranted, separate elementary and secondary schools should be provided to meet the linguistic and religious preferences of parents, although there was to be a unified administrative structure into which all these schools would be integrated; this structure would be neutral as far as language and religion were concerned. The recommendations dealing with the administrative structures will be discussed later; the immediate question is how the divisions at the elementary and secondary levels would affect the Anglophone minority.

162. In an ideal situation the proposals would provide the parents with a wider choice of schools than now exists. Anglophone parents would be able to send their children to Protestant, Roman Catholic, or non-confessional English-language schools.

163. But this diversity would not always be possible. The commission went on to explain: "However, we have maintained that the right of everyone to an education of the best possible quality has priority over the demands of pluralism; the state can agree to diversify education in parallel sectors only if at the same time it is able to ensure equally and for all the education they require."¹ The commission believed that

Priority for a high standard of education

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, V (1966), § 246.

one of the prerequisites for a good education was a school with an adequate library, audio-visual aids, and a gymnasium—a school where students in each grade could be grouped in classes according to their capacities and interests. Inevitably this means schools with large enrolments. At the elementary level, for example, it can be assumed that every village would have an elementary school, but if this school is to provide the quality and kind of education considered desirable, a minimum enrolment of 700 might be required. At the secondary level the commission suggested a minimum enrolment of 1,000, and for the two-year institutes the suggested minimum was 1,500. If these proposed figures were rigidly adhered to, it clearly would be impossible to provide the six different types of schools discussed, except in a metropolitan centre such as Montreal.

Suggested
compromises for
confessionality

164. The commission suggested certain compromises to meet situations where enrolment would be insufficient to justify duplication of schools at the elementary and secondary levels. It suggested, for example, that non-confessional schools at the elementary level might be opened with a minimum of 200 students and non-confessional secondary schools with a minimum of 500 to 600 students.¹ Where the enrolment fell short of these minimums, it argued for a system of tolerance within the existing school. Students would be exempted from religious instruction and religious observances on the request of the parents, and teachers would have to respect the religious convictions of the minority. The institutes—which because of their size would almost certainly include students of different religious beliefs—would not have a confessional character, although religious instruction could be offered.

Language rights
take precedence

165. The division on the basis of language did not permit such compromises. The commission took it for granted that English-speaking children should be taught in English and any suggestions for grouping students together were based on this assumption. Even the traditional separation of Roman Catholics and Protestants might be modified in order to achieve the necessary enrolment for English-language instruction. As an example of the attitude of the commission we can cite the following paragraph:

In several parts of the province where the density of the English-speaking population is very low, recourse should be had to special solutions in order to conform to the requirements of secondary education. The bi-confessional school—common to Roman Catholic and Protestant—will certainly be one solution deserving consideration. Under certain circumstances, the flexibility of programmes may make it possible to offer separate courses to two different groups of students, and then to unite them for secular studies. Certain prayers can be recited in common, others being

¹ *Ibid.*, § 125.

repeated in silence by individual students at the beginning of class. Administration of the institution can be entrusted jointly to a Roman Catholic and a Protestant principal and the same division of functions would apply to engaging teachers and selecting text-books and teaching materials. In a number of towns and regions throughout the province, this solution would permit the establishment, with mutual respect for divergent religious beliefs, of truly excellent English-language secondary schools.¹

166. Thus, for all students in the province, regardless of language or creed, the commission recommended the same sequence from elementary school to university; within that sequence, the same subjects would be taught and the programme of study for each subject would be similar. Within this uniform curriculum, however, the Anglophones would have schools conforming to or at least respecting their individual religious beliefs. And in all cases the students would study their mother tongue as a subject and would be taught in their mother tongue. There can be no question that the Parent Commission recommendations thus far are a clear and unequivocal recognition of the moral right of the Anglophone minority to have schools which respect their cultural identity.

A unified
administration

167. Public schools, however, cannot be isolated from an administrative system: there must be a central authority to plan and supervise the programme, to ensure that trained teachers are available, that buildings, equipment, and teaching aids are provided, and that money is found to meet the costs of education. In the past the Protestant schools were part of an almost completely autonomous system and Anglophone Catholic schools had been conceded a comparable autonomy in practice. This autonomy was seen as a guarantee that English-language education in Quebec would be responsive to the distinctive needs of the minority and would continue to reflect its distinctive aspirations. The Parent Commission, however, has directly challenged this autonomy. It advocates a co-ordinated and integrated system encompassing all schools—Protestant, Roman Catholic, and non-confessional; French and English. Under the proposed system the provincial government would not devolve its authority upon the Protestant and Catholic committees.

168. The commission intended that the major decisions on education would be made by the provincial government, and major recommendations of the commission dealing with the central administrative authority were more concerned with a unified system of public education than with protecting cultural diversity. The first of these recommendations was that there should be "a Minister of Education, whose function shall be to promote and co-ordinate educational services at all levels."²

¹ *Ibid.*, § 144.

² *Ibid.*, I (1963), § 143, Recommendation 1.

All the administrative organizations would then be consolidated in a department of Education responsible to this cabinet minister. The commission also suggested that this department should be organized in three divisions, respectively responsible for teaching, administration, and planning. Instead of an English-language Protestant school system under a separate director, Protestant schools would thus be an integral part of the provincial system. Even the advisory Superior Council of Education which the commission proposed would not be divided along religious or linguistic lines, but would function as a united body. The rigid separation of Protestant and Roman Catholic at the administrative level was to be a thing of the past.

Safeguards for the
official-language
minority

169. This did not mean, however, that there were no safeguards to ensure that the minority point of view would be adequately represented. The commission recommended the appointment of an associate deputy minister whose primary concern would be the Protestant schools within the system. A distinction would also be made between Protestant and Roman Catholic schools within the divisions of the department of Education where it seemed appropriate. Many of the administrative services would be common to all schools, but in the teaching division of the department there would be a separate curriculum section for Protestant schools and a separate section responsible for examinations and for inspection in these schools. The commission was concerned that "obviously such provisions involve the danger of allowing autonomous administrative bodies to grow up within the Ministry,"¹ but it believed that close liaison between the Protestant and Roman Catholic officials within the department and the final authority of the deputy minister and minister would ensure the desired co-ordination.²

Bill 60

170. The provincial government has already acted on these recommendations. The first section of the Parent report, which proposed a department of Education, was tabled in April 1963. Bill 60, which was to establish this department, was introduced two months later but was subsequently withdrawn and reintroduced with some amendments at the next session of the legislature. The amended bill became law in March 1964. The bill inevitably provoked wide-ranging discussion be-

¹ *Ibid.*, I (1963), § 159.

² It will be noted that this representation of the minority within the department refers to Protestant rather than to English-language schools. This reflects the constitutional guarantees to the minority in the B.N.A. Act, which refer to confessional rather than linguistic divisions, and the traditional emphasis on confessionality in Quebec education. In the context of the commission report, however, and also in the context of education in the past, Protestant is often used almost as a synonym for the Anglophone minority. A strict interpretation of the recommendations would suggest that Anglophone Roman Catholics might have no representation within the department of Education; the commission clearly intended, however, that English-language Catholic schools would come under the Protestant sections of the department when the common language made this appropriate.

cause it accepted the principle of a co-ordinated system of education with a minister of Education and a department of Education and so would radically transform the existing systems. Although the principle seems to have been generally accepted, many fears were expressed that the confessional character of education was not adequately guaranteed.¹ The amendments to the original bill were a response to these fears and in its final form the unification of the Protestant and Catholic systems was not as complete as the Parent Commission had proposed.

171. The newly created department of Education has a minister and a deputy minister. Instead of one associate deputy minister, there are two, and "under the authority of the minister and deputy minister and having regard to the need for co-ordination in the Department, each associate deputy minister shall be responsible for the guidance and general direction of the schools recognized as Catholic and Protestant, as the case may be."² Similarly the Superior Council was to have a membership reflecting the major religious divisions in the province; it was to be supported by Protestant and Roman Catholic committees whose primary responsibility was to supervise the religious and moral aspects of education, including teachers' qualifications, curricula, and textbooks. Bill 60 thus gives more direct representation to the confessional aspects of education than the Parent Commission had proposed. It nonetheless affirms the principle of a co-ordinated system of public education and the main divisions of the department of Education are not along confessional or linguistic lines.

172. It is not surprising that many English-language associations and individuals expressed misgivings about the proposals of the Parent Commission and the details of Bill 60. The minority in Quebec, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, was reasonably satisfied with its educational system and the demands for reform had come from the majority. As Léon Dion observed in his study of pressure groups and Bill 60, "being generally of the opinion that the present system of education for Anglophones in Quebec is satisfactory, it was normal for the spokesmen of this group to incline predominantly to favour the status quo."³ Given a situation in which the minority had separate and almost independent school systems in practice, they were naturally apprehensive about a co-ordinated provincial system.

Reaction of the English-language minority

173. The recommendations of the Parent Commission, however, went far beyond administrative reorganization at the departmental level.

The rights of parents

¹ For the discussion see Paul Gérin-Lajoie, *Pourquoi le Bill 60* (Montreal, 1963), and Léon Dion, *Le Bill 60 et le public* (Montreal, 1966).
² Act to establish the Department of Education and the Superior Council of Education, S.Q. 1964, 12-13 Eliz. II, c.15, s.1.
³ Dion, *Le Bill 60 et le public*, 80. See Appendix IV for original French version. See also Léon Dion, *Le Bill 60 et la société québécoise* (Montreal, 1967).

The commission had proposed a variety of schools—French or English, Protestant, Catholic, or non-confessional. For each of these elementary or secondary schools there was to be a school committee elected by the parents of the students. This committee would determine the linguistic and confessional character of the school and would co-operate closely with the teachers; its responsibilities would be pedagogical rather than administrative and financial.

Regional
commissions

174. The key administrative bodies would be the regional school commissions. These regional commissions were justified on much the same grounds as consolidated school boards in most parts of Canada. The many advantages of consolidation are almost self-evident. The radical innovation proposed by the Parent Commission was not the consolidation of school districts but the recommendation that each regional school commission should administer all the schools in the region, whether English or French, Protestant, Roman Catholic, or non-confessional. The commission argued that only in this way could all groups within a region be assured of comparable educational facilities. Linguistic and confessional minorities would benefit from the specialized facilities which only a regional commission responsible for a large number of schools could provide. This is particularly important in parts of the province where the minority is widely scattered; no minority regional commission would be able to provide all these services. The proposed regional commissions would also simplify the financial administration. There would no longer be any necessity for separate tax-rolls for Protestants and Roman Catholics, nor the complication of allocating taxes collected from corporations, and all taxpayers within the same region would be taxed at the same rate. The Parent Commission admitted that the Protestants would have less administrative autonomy than under the existing system, but it argued that minority rights would be adequately protected. Each of the local school committees would participate in the election of the regional commission, so the official-language minority would normally be represented on the commission. The surest guarantee for the linguistic minority, however, was the previous experience of the Anglophone Roman Catholics under the existing Catholic school commissions:

Indeed, experience has shown that English-language Roman Catholic education was able to attain its present stature thanks to local school commissions administering both French and English schools. In many places, one or more English-language classes were inaugurated in French schools; wherever the English-speaking population was large enough, the school commission built an English-language Roman Catholic School at the most convenient location. Although there are no provisions to that effect, except in Montreal, the English-speaking population has generally been represented on commissions as a result of more or less explicit agreements. Past experience in the Roman

Catholic sector therefore leads us to believe that in Quebec a single school commission administering both French-language and English-language schools offers sufficient guarantees of mutual respect on the part of the two linguistic groups and makes it possible for us to recommend that the regional commission be vested with jurisdiction over all public education both French and English. In view of the low density of the English-speaking Roman Catholic and Protestant population outside the Montreal area, this will most certainly be the only way of ensuring English-language instruction of equal quality in many portions of the province.¹

175. Language, however, is not the only issue at stake and it may not be the most important cause of uneasiness for the Anglophone minority. It is true that the proposed changes do not provide a specific legal guarantee of the right to instruction in the English language, but there is no such guarantee under the present system. For English-speaking Protestants, however, the administrative recommendations of the Parent Commission do imply significant changes in their educational régime. In the past, the Protestant school system has been treated fairly and even generously. Protestant boards had the right to establish the tax rate to be levied on properties of the Protestant school supporters; the boards often levied taxes at a higher rate than the Catholic boards and, because the average assessment of their supporters was higher than the provincial average, the property tax revenue was considerably greater. Under the proposed reorganization of the regional school commissions, this separation of Protestant and Catholic school revenues would disappear. All property owners in the region would pay the same tax rate and the revenues of the regional school commission would be uniformly expended regardless of the linguistic or confessional character of the schools involved. There is some concern among the minority that, while this policy may raise the academic standards of the Roman Catholic schools in a region, it may at the same time lower the standards of the existing Protestant schools.

176. It would be misleading to discuss this apprehension solely in the context of the Parent report. The recommendation for a single school commission for each region is still no more than a recommendation and may not be adopted by the provincial government. But the equalization of per-student revenues on a regional and even a provincial basis is already government policy and, whatever the eventual administrative structure will be, the disparity between Protestant and Roman Catholic schools will disappear. The new policy is already being implemented and there is no likelihood that it will be reversed.

177. Equalization is an almost inevitable result of the spiralling expenditures on education in recent years. The local property tax

Implications of
a uniform tax rate

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, IV (Montreal, 1966), § 252.

provided 80 per cent of school revenues in the province until the end of World War II. Actual revenues from this source have significantly increased since that time, but the proportion has declined until now this tax provides less than half the revenue of provincial school commissions. The balance comes mainly from provincial grants. The higher costs of education and the willingness of provincial governments—in Quebec as elsewhere—to meet these costs, reflect the increasing awareness of the social and economic benefits of education. Instead of being purely a community responsibility, education is now seen in the context of provincial interests. The ultimate purpose of provincial grants for education is to improve educational standards within the province, but they are also designed to equalize educational opportunities throughout the province.

178. Few people would question the necessity of provincial grants to supplement the revenues of school commissions; nor would they challenge the principle of financial equalization in the province. It is inconceivable that any representative of the minority would argue that the provincial government should provide a better education for the minority than for the majority. The concern that the educational standards of the minority may decline, even temporarily, during the process of equalization is legitimate, but it can hardly justify continuing disparity. In any case the recommendations of the Parent Commission and the many statements by government spokesmen should allay this concern. The government has declared its vital concern with raising educational standards to the highest possible level and has stated that it intends to provide the large sums needed to achieve this goal. There has been no suggestion that the revenues of Protestant schools will be reduced.

179. It is nonetheless true that, if single regional school commissions are established, the Protestant minority in a specific region will no longer be able to increase the expenditures on minority education unilaterally. Such an increase in the local tax rate would only be possible if the majority on the regional commission agreed, and the benefits would be shared by English- and French-language schools alike within the region. In principle, however, this is no different from the situation in consolidated school districts in other provinces. The underlying assumption that only a majority should impose such a policy does not seem incongruous.

D. Summary

180. In summary, the educational structures within Quebec are undergoing radical changes and, until the new structure is complete,

nobody can speak with assurance about the educational régime which will be available to the linguistic minority. The virtual autonomy of the Protestant school system has already been compromised to some extent by Bill 60 and will probably be restricted even more as the policy of a co-ordinated provincial system is extended. The changes will also affect the English Roman Catholic schools in many ways. None of these changes, however, implies the elimination of English-language schools and, indeed, the continuation of these schools within the emerging system is taken for granted and need not be questioned. Our concern is to what extent the linguistic and cultural identity of the minority is likely to be recognized and fostered by the new educational system in the province.

181. One point is clearly established. The English-speaking minority has been given official status within the department of Education and the Superior Council of Education. Although this legal recognition is based on religion rather than language, it is clear that Protestant will be equated with English-speaking when the language needs of the Roman Catholic Anglophone minority are involved.

182. A second point is also clearly established. The right of the minority to English-language schools has not been questioned. The Parent Commission suggested minimum enrolments which would close some schools. At the same time, however, the commission assumed that the principle of instruction in English for English-speaking students could be adhered to in almost all cases by special transportation arrangements, by grouping Anglophone Protestant and Roman Catholic students, and by establishing English-language classes in majority schools where necessary.

183. It is less easy to decide whether the English-language schools in the future will adequately reflect the distinctive cultural needs of the minority. The new administrative structures will ensure that Anglophone officials will be involved in the administrative planning and in preparing any new programmes, but they do not guarantee that decisions will reflect cultural differences apart from language. There is no guarantee, and there can be no guarantee, because nobody can define such cultural differences with any assurance. What is more, cultural differences cannot easily be dissociated from language. It may be, as the Parent Commission suggests, that language is the central element in cultural identity and that the structures of thought and the emotional content of the language are the basis of cultural distinctions. When it is remembered that language teaching includes a study of the literary heritage of the cultural group and when, in addition, the course of study for history is intended to acquaint students with the history of their society, there is certainly some assurance that the minority

English-language schools in Quebec will preserve and foster the cultural identity of this minority.

184. The Parent Commission has dealt directly with the question of the need for the minority to learn the language of the majority in Quebec, and no doubt this aspect of minority-language education in Quebec will be of increasing concern to educators in the English-language régime. Minority-language schools for the Francophones in the other provinces have been expected to graduate bilingual students or at least to give their students a solid knowledge of the majority language. It appears obvious that the English-speaking student should be similarly equipped to participate in Quebec in the language of the majority.

185. The historical survey in Chapter III was intended to be only an introduction to the school systems in English-speaking provinces. We do not propose to describe these systems in detail. Our aim is to analyze the educational opportunities for the French-speaking minorities in the various provinces outside Quebec. We are well aware of the many changes which have been undertaken and other changes which are in the planning stage to increase the educational opportunities for the Francophone minorities outside Quebec. But these proposed reforms are of very recent date. Without a clear picture of the severe restrictions which up to the present time have been placed on French-language education in most English-speaking provinces, and of the confused situation in others, it will be impossible for English-speaking Canadians to understand the seriousness and the urgency of the need for reform. Recent evidence of a change in attitude on the part of most of these provinces towards the educational requirements of their French-speaking minorities is impressive, but the following description will show how far-reaching and profound the changes will have to be if the intention to provide an adequate French-language education is to be realized.

186. The departments of Education in the English-speaking provinces have never based their programmes on the right of Canadian parents to educate their children in the official language of their choice. Each of the provinces responded to the needs of the minority group in its own way. Those concessions allowed in the English-speaking provinces were made in response to persistent pressures from the Francophone minorities. The result was a lack of co-ordination and very limited opportunities in French-language education in these provinces.

187. One illustration of the confusing variety of educational patterns for the French-speaking minorities is the use of the term "bilingual

"Bilingual
schools"

schools." Theoretically, any school in which the two languages are used might be called "bilingual." A "bilingual school" where both French and English are languages of instruction might have two parallel streams of students, with each stream studying in only one language, or it might have a single stream with all students studying some subjects in one language and some subjects in the other. The range of possibilities is so great that the term "bilingual schools" can only be broadly defined. In Canada, however, the term is often used officially, with the implication that a specific type of school is being referred to. The term is applied in English-speaking provinces to provincial schools in which the students are French-speaking; it suggests that both French and English are normal languages of instruction. In fact, however, English may be the sole language of instruction, with French being used only during those periods assigned to the teaching of French as a subject, or French may be the sole language of instruction with English being used only to teach English as a subject. Such schools can hardly be considered bilingual. Many of these so-called bilingual schools fall between these two extremes and, for these schools at least, the term is more appropriate. The classification of these schools becomes even more difficult, however, because the use of French and English may vary from one "bilingual school" to the next within the same province and from one grade to the next within the same school. Not only is the term vague, but it may also be misleading because it is often assumed that there is a uniform language pattern within "bilingual schools." We propose to substitute the term "minority-language schools" in discussing the régime of the future, in order to avoid confusion.

**An unresolved
question**

188. The French-speaking minorities have expressed increasing dissatisfaction over the last few years and, as a result, the provincial governments have introduced new measures or policies. At the same time, the evidence of dissatisfaction and the many recent innovations are salutary reminders that the controversy over the place of the minorities within the existing school systems has not yet been resolved. Therefore, the first step towards understanding what needs to be done is to examine the present situation within the existing systems.¹

A. Ontario

189. The *modus vivendi* that followed the disputes over Regulation 17 permitted the use of French as a language of instruction without clearly defining the nature of "bilingual" schools. Even today it is impossible to speak with assurance of the extent to which French is

¹ However, we would point out that, because the situation is fluid, some changes may be overlooked or their implications may not be fully understood.

used in these elementary schools in Ontario, because each school establishes its own pattern. There have been changes in recent years and a greater use of French as a language of instruction has been permitted in both elementary and secondary schools. This toleration and even encouragement of French has had obvious limitations. French-language schools or classes could not be an integral part of a provincial school system which remained oriented towards the education of the English-speaking majority. Either the system would have to be restructured to give adequate recognition to both languages, or the French-language schools and classes would have to be organized into a separate French-language system.

190. On May 30, 1968, the provincial minister of Education introduced legislation which he could legitimately describe as "historic."¹ The bills to which the minister referred provide for French-language schools or classes at both the elementary and secondary levels. Instead of an almost clandestine *modus vivendi*, French is to be permitted as the legal language of instruction in elementary schools, and for the first time it will also be permitted as the normal language of instruction in secondary schools. The legislation is intended to ensure that French-speaking students will have the opportunity of receiving their education in French. It thus accords with the principle enunciated in the first *Book of our Report*—that Anglophone and Francophone parents should have the right to have their children educated in their own language—and represents a significant forward step.² But we must add the cautionary reminder that the legal recognition of French as a language of instruction does not ensure an adequate system of education for the Franco-phone minority.

Radical
legislative
changes

191. In order to examine the present system in Ontario we must describe the educational opportunities that have been available to the Francophone minority in the past, while noting the changes already foreshadowed by the new legislation. Some of our conclusions will necessarily be tentative because a new régime of minority-language education, while clearly taking shape, is still embryonic. We believe that our description will suggest many areas where careful planning is still required before the educational opportunities for the minority will be adequate.

1. Elementary schools

192. When French-speaking children first go to school in Ontario, the probability now is that they will go to a "bilingual" school. There

"Bilingual"
schools—a local
decision

¹ Legislature of Ontario, *Debates*, May 30, 1968, 3638-42. After signing this *Book of the Report*, the Commissioners approved certain textual additions in order to take into account relevant legislation and other events occurring after May 23, 1968.

² *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, § 389.

has been no law stating that these schools must be provided; the decision has been up to the local school boards.¹ Since Franco-Ontarians are concentrated in certain regions, the likelihood is that these schools will exist, but where the proportion of French-speaking children is small or where the Francophones are recent immigrants, French-speaking parents have had no recourse but to appeal to the goodwill of the school board. These boards were often reluctant to establish "bilingual" schools. If the appeal fell on deaf ears, the parents had to send their children to English-language schools or pay for a private school. Since these isolated Francophone parents were seldom numerous enough or rich enough to support a private school, this alternative was little more than a theoretical possibility.

193. New legislation, to take effect in 1969, will end this dependence on the goodwill of the local authorities. In future, when 10 or more Francophone ratepayers submit a written request and when there are enough students to justify it, the school board is required to provide classes or even a school in which French will be the language of instruction.¹ What in the past has been a privilege will in future be a legal right.

A confused
language
situation

194. At present, a "bilingual" school differs from the other elementary schools in the province in that the children are taught in French for the first few grades at least. This is essential if the children are to be taught anything at all—French may be the only language they know, and it is almost certainly the language they know best. But the teaching of English as a subject begins in the first grade and in theory English gradually replaces French as the language of instruction in the following grades as the child's knowledge of the second language increases. French is taught as a subject to the end of elementary school and is allotted the same amount of time as English in the course of study. If the transition to English as the language of instruction reflects the assumption that a high competence in English is a prerequisite for advanced education or success in the work world in Ontario, one would expect a carefully developed course of study for teaching English to French-speaking children. Instead, these children follow the programme designed to teach English grammar, composition, and literature to Anglophones; the only difference is that they begin the programme at a later grade. Thus French-speaking children have been expected to study French at a level roughly equivalent to the French taught in the French-language schools in Quebec, to study English at a level comparable to the English taught in the English-

¹ The Schools Administration Amendment Act, 1968. A separate class is to be provided if a minimum of 30 students at the primary, junior, or intermediate division can be grouped into a class.

language schools of Ontario, and to make the transition from French to English as the language of instruction in all the other school subjects. The "bilingual" schools of Ontario obviously present a challenge to both the teachers and the students. ✓

195. In practice the pattern often breaks down. Even when English textbooks are used and examinations are written in English, the teacher often finds that problems are better understood if explanations are given in French. The teachers may not even be conscious of the fact that French becomes the language of instruction. As one example of this, a sociologist who attended classes in one "bilingual" school reported that "instruction in science was carried out in English but students were unable to ask or answer questions in English despite reprimands from the teacher. The names of even the simplest materials such as 'salt' had to be translated as the class proceeded."¹ Under these circumstances a science teacher who wants his students to learn about science will be inclined to teach in French. This situation is most likely to arise in areas where there is little or no contact with English, as for example in some rural communities in northern Ontario. The continued use of French as a language of instruction doubtless also reflects the determination to protect the mother tongue by retaining it as long as possible as the language of communication in the school.

196. In any case, the variety in language use within "bilingual" schools makes it almost impossible to summarize the existing situation. By Grade VIII, children may be taught every subject except French in English or, at the other extreme, they may be taught every subject except English in French. The probability is that most textbooks will be in English, most tests will be written in English, but that both French and English will be used in the classrooms.

197. The new legislation will bring some order into this confusion. Instead of "bilingual" schools, the minority will have French-language schools. The language of instruction will be French for all subjects. English as a subject of instruction will be obligatory from Grade V. In introducing this legislation the minister also referred to work now being done within the department of Education to prepare English courses specially designed for French-speaking pupils.

198. Children attending a "bilingual" elementary school, or one of the proposed French-language schools, will almost certainly be enrolled in what is officially known as a separate school. These are Roman Catholic confessional schools in which approximately half an hour each school day is set aside for religious instruction, and in which the teachers may be nuns or priests as well as laymen. The time allotted

"Bilingual"
and separate
schools

¹ Richard A. Carlton, "Differential Educational Achievement in a Bilingual Community" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1967), 103.

to other subjects is reduced to make room for religious instruction and for French, but otherwise the course of study is similar in separate and public (or non-confessional) elementary schools.¹ There are a few exceptional "bilingual" schools in Ontario which are not separate schools. Most of these schools are in rural areas where all the students are Roman Catholics and the "bilingual" school has been classified as the public school of the district almost by historical accident.² Public "bilingual" schools offer French as a subject as do the separate schools, but there is no time allotted to religious instruction.

A difficult
adjustment

199. Elementary school is only the first phase of education in Ontario. English-speaking children almost automatically go on to a public secondary school. The transition involves going to a different school with different teachers, but the curriculum is a continuation of the elementary course of study. For French-speaking children graduating from a "bilingual" and separate elementary school, the transition may not be so easy. These children have been attending a school in many ways isolated from other elementary schools in the province. When they arrive at a public secondary school it may be far more difficult for them to adjust to the new system.

200. This is partly because of the religious environment of the separate schools. Religion is taught as a subject in separate schools, but probably more significant is the fact that many of the teachers, even in other subjects, are nuns or teaching brothers. The courses of study are little different from those of the public elementary schools, but the environment is different. For a Roman Catholic student, the presence of religious orders in the school seems almost part of the natural order of things. The public secondary school, with its non-sectarian philosophy and its exclusion of the clergy from the staff, is in sharp contrast. Not only is the environment different, but to many Roman Catholic parents it seems hostile. For the first few weeks at least, the secondary school is a much more alien environment to the graduates of separate schools than to those who have attended non-confessional elementary schools.

201. There has been another factor complicating the adaptation of French-speaking children to public secondary schools. English is the normal language of instruction in these schools and the teachers usually cannot speak French. If the children do not understand an explanation, there will be no resort to their mother tongue to clarify the meaning. A teacher may even conclude that the children are dull or backward,

¹ Not all separate schools are "bilingual," for Anglophone Roman Catholics in Ontario may also attend confessional elementary schools.

² In Welland, for example, the "bilingual" school is administered by the public school board at the request of the Francophone community.

instead of realizing that they do not fully understand. And even if he is bilingual, a teacher cannot go into detailed explanations for the benefit of the French-speaking children alone because he has also to consider the other members of the class. Even if these children speak English well, it is their second language and they are certain to encounter some difficulties. A year or two may pass before they are able to compete on almost equal terms with their English-speaking classmates. For some Francophones the challenge and the feeling of isolation may be too great.

202. The problem of language is further complicated by psychological factors. Most Francophone parents are satisfied to have their children learn English well, but at the same time they are concerned that they know French. These parents know that language is a skill which must be acquired and then retained by constant use. For many of them the predominance of English at the secondary level has been a matter of deep regret, if not resentment. This attitude has almost certainly affected the attitude of the student towards the secondary school.

The parents' attitude

203. The new legislation is intended to eliminate the language difficulties involved in the transition of Francophone students from elementary to secondary school. The aim is to establish French-language secondary schools in the province. English will be a compulsory subject, but all other subjects will be taught in French. In several centres, the local school boards have already taken steps to implement this policy and some French-language secondary schools opened in the fall of 1968, even though the legislation only comes into force in 1969.¹

204. The secondary school may still present obstacles for the French-speaking student. A crucial question—but one which is very difficult to answer with confidence—concerns the academic standards in “bilingual” schools and in the proposed French-language elementary schools. When French-speaking children arrive at the secondary school, will they be as well trained in mathematics or science or history as the graduates of English-language elementary schools? Or will the fact that they have attended a “bilingual” school for eight years mean that they are academically handicapped by comparison with their fellow students at the secondary level? The place of language and religion in the school is unquestionably important to Francophone parents and children, but these two aspects of school life must be seen in relation to the academic function of the school and the necessity of a solid grounding in other subjects.

Academic standards in “bilingual” schools

¹Legislature of Ontario, *Debates*, May 30, 1968, 3642. The official title of the legislation is The Secondary Schools and Boards of Education Act, 1968.

205. There is no easy answer to this question of academic standards because the problem is complex. Academic aptitude and achievement tests are standard tools for assigning students to classes or even to school programmes, but they are not an adequate measure of a student's previous schooling. Academic achievement is not determined by the school alone. Research has shown that social or economic factors also affect the work of a child in school. In general, students in rural schools, students from lower income groups, students from large families, or students whose parents have had little formal education will be less successful in school than the average. Only an analysis which takes such factors into account can throw any light on the question of whether the "bilingual" elementary schools in Ontario have provided an education inferior to that offered in the other elementary schools of the province.

The Carnegie
study

206. Fortunately there is some data bearing on these questions for a selected group of students in Ontario. The Carnegie Study of Identification and Utilization of Talent in High School began with every student enrolled in Grade ix in the public and private schools of Ontario in 1959 and followed the careers of these students through secondary school. As part of this study, every student was given a battery of tests to measure academic aptitude and achievement in English and mathematics. The data were analyzed for us by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.¹ The analysis classified the students on the basis of the chief language spoken in the home. Of the 82,500 Grade ix students involved, 71,819 came from Anglophone homes, 4,850 from Francophone homes, and 5,831 from homes where neither English nor French was the chief language.

207. The tests themselves were standardized tests prepared for Ontario schools. The Canadian Academic Aptitude Test (CAAT) had three parts: verbal, mathematical, and non-verbal reasoning. The Canadian English Achievement Test (CEAT), also in three parts, was designed to test reading achievement, knowledge of grammar, and effectiveness of expression. The Canadian Mathematics Achievement Test (CMAT) tested arithmetic computation, knowledge of arithmetical terms and concepts, and arithmetic problems of measurement. Each of the nine parts was to be completed in half an hour. It is also important to note that all the tests were in English.

208. The results showed that students from Anglophone homes scored slightly better than those from homes where neither French nor English was the chief language, but in all the tests the students

¹ This information is taken from A. J. C. King and C. Angi, "Language and Secondary School Success," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B. by arrangement with the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

from Francophone homes received scores significantly lower than either of the other two groups.¹ This stark fact presents a disturbing picture of the academic level of French-speaking students in Ontario. Since the Carnegie study includes almost all the Grade IX students in Ontario in 1959, one would expect a random distribution; instead, all the tests proved to be much more difficult for the Francophones than for the other two groups.

209. There is no reason to assume that these students were intellectually inferior. The language barrier is one possibility, but there is some evidence that it is not a decisive factor in explaining the marks of the French-language group. Francophones scored almost as poorly on the non-verbal academic aptitude test (CAAT III) and the mathematics tests (CMAT) as on the English achievement tests (CEAT). Furthermore, in a study prepared for the Commission, the mathematics achievement tests (CMAT I, II, III) were administered to students in the English-language and "bilingual" schools in a Northern Ontario community, with the tests translated for the "bilingual" school students, and again the marks of the French-speaking students were much lower.²

210. There are other possible explanations. We have noted that many socio-economic factors have a significant effect on academic achievement. By and large, the French-speaking students in Ontario are associated with socio-economic factors adversely affecting this achievement. Their parents are likely to be less well educated, with smaller incomes and larger families, than the parents of other students in Ontario. It is also possible that the attitude of Francophone parents and children towards education is different—that they might be less convinced of the importance of education or might have a different expectation from their education. It may, however, be true that French-speaking children attending "bilingual" elementary schools, isolated in so many ways from the other elementary schools in the province, have been less well prepared academically. We must inevitably return to these various hypotheses because it is only by analyzing the causes of the academic backwardness of Francophones in Ontario that we can arrive at recommendations to remedy the situation.

Socio-economic
factors

¹ For the first two academic aptitude tests (CAAT I and CAAT II), more than 80 per cent of the Francophones fell below the mean for all students and more than half of them were in the fourth quartile. For the "other-language" group, slightly more than half fell below the mean and close to the probable 25 per cent were in the fourth quartile. Even on the non-verbal tests (CAAT III), where a knowledge of English was less important, the performance of the Francophone groups was markedly inferior to that of the other two groups. Similar results emerged from the other tests. On both the English tests (CEAT) and the mathematics tests (CMAT) the distribution of the scores of the "other-language" group was approximately the same as for the Anglophone group, but the scores of the Francophone group were concentrated in the lower part of the scale.

² Carlton "Differential Educational Achievement," 215, Table XIII.

2. Secondary schools

A difficult transition

211. For young Franco-Ontarians, as well as for their parents, the transition to a secondary school has seemed to involve many hazards. As Roman Catholics, they may have had a suspicion that a secular school depreciates the importance of religion in daily life. As Francophones, they may have had the feeling that the school, because it offered most of its instruction in English, depreciated the importance of French as a living language. French-speaking students have been less adequately prepared for their secondary studies than their English-speaking classmates, so apprehensions about the new school have often been reinforced by a sense of inadequacy or even inferiority.

A response to the needs of Francophones

212. The Ontario department of Education has made some attempts in recent years to adjust the standard secondary school programme to more adequately fit the needs of French-speaking students. French as a subject is now taught to French-speaking students in a more advanced programme, and many of the textbooks and readings are the same as those used in Quebec. This special French, or *cours de français* as it is called to distinguish it from the French taught to Anglophones, is not compulsory for Francophones; many of them are doubtless tempted to take the simpler French course in order to raise their average mark in school. It is an indication of the importance of the mother tongue to French-speaking parents and children that, in spite of this temptation, a large number of French-speaking students take the *cours de français* when it is offered.¹ In 1961 the Ontario department of Education granted permission to secondary school boards to have Latin taught in French, and in 1966 this permission was extended to geography and history. Schools in some 40 communities now offer instruction in French in some or all of these subjects. The implementation of this policy was, however, still subject to local school board option. To the extent that the school board authorized it, French-speaking students could follow the *cours de français*, study these other subjects in French, and write their examinations in these subjects in French. When this occurred, it was evident that the secondary school more nearly approached the definition of a "bilingual" school.

A question of standards

213. In view of the difficult transition from elementary to secondary school, it is not surprising that the work of the French-speaking students as a group has often been less satisfactory than the work of English-speaking students. If all the Francophones were in separate classes,

¹ During the 1966-7 school year, 8,739 students were enrolled in the *cours de français* in the secondary schools. This does not include the 5,750 students in Grades ix and x where these grades are offered in "bilingual" schools administered by a separate school elementary school board. These figures were cited by the Hon. W. G. Davis, Ontario minister of Education, in a speech given in Toronto on November 29, 1967.

special attention could be given to this group, but the problem of uniform academic standards remains. Should all students be expected to compete on equal terms by the end of Grade IX or should special concessions be made to the Francophones? A teacher in one such school described the unofficial policy to an investigator:

Our policy is to be very lenient at the end of Grade Nine. My first promotion meeting really shocked me: all those [low] figures getting through. In my second year, with two other teachers, I organized all the Grade Nine to pass eighty per cent of the *grade*, not the *class*—why fail a kid with forty-five per cent in Grade Nine A1, for example, and pass a kid in Grade Nine A4 with an average of twenty-three? Well, we couldn't do it. The bottom twenty per cent was all French. . . . In one class last June eight-three per cent failed in a French-speaking class. Marks were raised from the twenties to the fifties: some were failures because of language, not mental abilities. We "juggled" and got seventy-three per cent passing.¹

This accommodation for French-speaking students is obviously necessary whenever the alternative is to fail them all. On the other hand it may merely postpone the problem from one grade to the next, unless a special programme is designed to raise the academic standard to the level of the English-speaking students in the school.

214. Designing such a special programme is likely to be beyond the capacity of the staff of a secondary school, preoccupied as they are with the full-time job of teaching the existing curriculum. The difficulties are even greater with the recent changes in the secondary school programme. Under the "Robarts Plan" there are now three different streams at the secondary level—general, commercial, and technical—with a total of eight different programmes, varying from one to five years in length. At the end of Grade IX, students are expected to choose the programme best suited to their interests and their abilities. This proliferation of streams makes it more difficult to keep the French-speaking students in separate classes in Grade X.

215. This choice of programme in Grade X has other implications for French-speaking students. The choice of programme is a choice of career. It is possible to transfer from one programme to another after the choice is made, but such transfers are complicated and may even involve repeating a grade. Guidance counsellors and teachers who advise students and parents on what seems to be the most suitable programme are certain to be influenced by the results of various achievement and aptitude tests and by the student's school work. For those French-speaking students who have been handicapped by the fact that they had to work in a second language or by the transition to the

Limited career
choices

¹ Carleton, "Differential Educational Achievement," 307.

secondary school, the chances of entering the five-year academic programme have been significantly reduced.

216. What then happens to these children? They may be lucky. They may know enough English to adjust relatively easily to a system in which English is the main language of instruction. They may have gone to one of the better separate schools or may be exceptionally bright, and they may benefit from special attention in their first year in the new school. It is unlikely, however, that they will ever reach Grade XIII or go on to university. They may find that even the challenge of a less academic programme is too great, and the combination of frustration and a more permissive environment may lead to idleness or even rowdiness.

217. The proposed French-language secondary schools are a direct response to this unsatisfactory situation. Instead of tinkering further with the standard secondary school programme by adding more subjects to the list of those which may be taught in French, the government has decided to establish French-language schools. It will provide composite secondary schools in places where the enrolment will be large enough, and French-language sections within a school where a separate institution is not justified. English will be a compulsory subject, but all other subjects will be taught in French. English-language schools will still be able to offer the *cours de français* and to teach Latin, geography, and history in French if there are enough Francophone students to form a separate class. The minister of Education has defined as the objectives of this legislation "a complete command of the French language and culture" as well as "a complementary and adequate knowledge of English."¹

218. These proposed schools could go far in eliminating the barriers to secondary school education for Francophones in Ontario. The full range of programmes—general, commercial, and technical—will be taught in French. The schools will not be confessional but they were initially recommended by a committee which included representatives of Francophone educational institutions, and the general support of the Francophone minority for these schools seems assured. The problem of ensuring academic standards equivalent at both the elementary and secondary levels to those of English-language schools of the province remains, as does the need to adapt certain courses to reflect the cultural needs of the minority.

219. The transition from the elementary to the secondary level is complicated in Ontario, however, by the extension of elementary school to Grade x in some communities. This unusual arrangement goes back to the days when secondary schools were less common and trans-

Grades ix and
x in the separate
school system

¹ Legislature of Ontario, *Debates*, May 30, 1968, 3642.

portation was less efficient. Elementary school boards were allowed to administer "classes" to the end of Grade x because the alternative for the children in many communities was to leave school at the end of Grade viii. This special arrangement has almost disappeared in the public school system but it has survived to a greater extent in the separate school system because it has made it possible for Roman Catholic students to continue their education in a denominational school for two more years. French-speaking students continuing their education under the administration of an elementary school board have had the added advantage of prolonging education in a "bilingual" school where the teachers could speak French and where French was likely to be the language of communication outside the classroom. The attractions of this arrangement are so great that they have existed even in urban communities where public secondary schools were available. In rural areas, Grades ix and x may have been taught in the same building as the separate school elementary grades. In urban areas, however, it is more likely that these grades would be taught in a private secondary school, usually a denominational school, with a grant from the separate school board to cover the cost of these two grades but with subsequent grades financed by private donations and fees.

220. For Francophone parents the extension of the elementary system has been an attractive alternative to public secondary schools, but the decision to postpone the transition to the public school system has implications for the child which may not be fully appreciated. It is probable that the academic standards in these grades are much lower than in the public secondary schools. The funds come from the elementary separate school boards which have limited financial resources, whereas the public school boards levy property taxes and receive government grants for secondary school students. Teachers' qualifications are also inferior, with many teachers holding only elementary teachers' certificates. Even more serious is the fact that these grades are almost completely isolated from the developments in the secondary school system. They are administered by the elementary separate school board, which means that neither teachers, principals, inspectors, nor administrators have any formal contact or association with their counterparts in the secondary schools. The traditional division in the department of Education between elementary and secondary education accentuates this separation. Changes in teaching methods and the use of new techniques and equipment are usually introduced in secondary schools long before they are adopted in the Grades ix and x administered by the elementary separate school boards. The number of students involved is by no means negligible—some 20,000 in 1964—but the number is small compared to the enrolment in these two grades in the public secondary

schools—123,512. It seems fair to say that these 20,000 children are an almost forgotten group in the provincial education system.

221. Educational reforms in Ontario have accentuated and even aggravated this isolation. Secondary schools have been consolidated because a large student body is required if a school is to offer the many programmes now considered necessary for an adequate secondary school system. Specialist teachers and special laboratories and equipment can only be justified if enough students enrol in these special classes. Experts suggest that the optimum size for a composite secondary school today is about 1,500 students and the estimates are constantly being revised upwards. In rural areas these arrangements can never provide the diversity of secondary schools because there will be too few students in Grades ix and x. The same is true to a lesser extent for the private schools which teach these two grades under a separate school board. The number of students involved is much larger in urban communities, but the private schools have not been consolidated and their students are usually dispersed among a number of schools.¹

222. The "Robarts Plan," with its general, commercial, and technical programmes and its eight streams, is therefore unworkable when Grades ix and x are continued in the elementary system. With rare exceptions the students attending these schools must follow the academic programme. They can enjoy the advantages of a denominational and a bilingual atmosphere, but only at the cost of sacrificing the diversity and variety of educational opportunities offered by public secondary schools. Those students for whom a commercial or technical training would be more appropriate have no choice.

A more difficult
transition

223. And what happens after the additional two years? The shift from the denominational "bilingual" school to a public secondary school, which would have presented some difficulties two years before, is now much more difficult. Students wishing to continue in the academic stream have had to adjust to the new atmosphere and the predominance of English, and have had to do so at a more advanced academic level. The special consideration which might be given to them in Grade ix is less easily provided in Grade xi. And in terms of academic preparation, the two additional years in the elementary school system almost ensure that the children fall even further behind the students in the public schools. Unless these French-speaking students are very gifted, their chances of passing at the end of the year are slim. If, on the other hand, they prefer to follow the commercial or technical programme, they have to repeat Grade x, because they have to begin studying the specialized commercial or technical subjects at that level. Whether they continue

¹ In 1964, for example, only one city school in Ontario administered by an elementary separate school board had more than 600 students enrolled in Grades ix and x, and the average enrolment in city schools was less than 200 students.

in the academic programme or transfer to a commercial or technical programme, they probably have to repeat a year. Faced with this situation, there is a strong possibility that they may become school drop-outs.

224. As an alternative to transferring to a public secondary school, French-speaking students have been able to continue their education in a private school. There have been many of these private Roman Catholic schools in Ontario, usually operated by the diocese or by a religious order. The fees—probably averaging \$200 a year for each child—were low when compared to many private schools, but nonetheless would be a significant burden on most family budgets. Many of these schools, however, did not offer Grade XIII, and so once again the academic progress outside the public secondary school system was blocked. Francophone parents may accept the proposed French-language secondary schools as an alternative to these private confessional schools. As long as Francophone students continue to Grade x in schools administered by elementary school boards, however, the transition from the elementary to the secondary level will involve complications.

Private schools

3. *A comparison of secondary school careers*

225. This gloomy picture of the education of French-speaking children in Ontario can be substantiated by statistical evidence. The Carnegie Study of Identification and Utilization of Talent in High School and College, discussed above, began with all the students enrolled in Grade ix of the public, private, and separate schools in Ontario in 1959. It then traced the secondary school careers of these students until they dropped out of school or graduated. At our request the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education compared the careers of students coming from homes where English, French, or a language other than English or French was the chief language used. The analysis provided some startling statistics. Of an average group of 100 students from Anglophone homes, 13 completed Grade XIII after five years of secondary schooling. For those from homes where neither English nor French was the chief language, 17 out of 100 graduated after five years. For those from Francophone homes the figure was three! And this shocking rate of attrition is by no means confined to the final years of secondary school. Two years after the Carnegie study began, 52 out of an average group of 100 Anglophone students and 60 out of 100 'other-language' students were in Grade xi, but only 38 out of 100 Francophone students had reached this grade.¹ This might have been explained by a larger proportion of Francophones who had been forced

Attrition rates

¹ See Appendix II, Table 1.

to repeat Grade IX or X but were still in school and might yet complete their secondary education. Unfortunately the statistics do not support this possibility. Two years after the Carnegie study began, 76 of 100 Anglophone students and 76 of 100 "other-language" students were still attending school, but only 57 of 100 students from the Francophone group; by the fifth year the numbers were 47, 48, and 23 respectively. No matter how the data were analyzed, we were led to the same conclusion—that the rate of attrition of students from Francophone homes is disastrously high when compared with other Ontario students. The tragic reality behind these figures is that, of the French-speaking students in Ontario who entered Grade IX in 1959, less than half went to secondary school for more than three years and less than half reached Grade XI.¹

The socio-economic factor

226. What is the explanation? One possibility is the socio-economic factor. Children are more likely to drop out of school if they come from rural areas or small communities: over 32 per cent of the Francophone group were attending schools in communities of less than 6,000 population, compared to 25 per cent of the Anglophone and 15 per cent of the "other-language" groups.² Children are more likely to drop out if their parents have had little formal education: 68 per cent of the fathers and 65 per cent of the mothers of the Francophone group had not attended secondary schools, whereas the comparable figures for the Anglophone group were 39 and 32 per cent and, for the "other-language" group, 57 and 60.³ Children are also more likely to drop out if their father's occupation is lower on a socio-economic scale: the fathers of the Francophone group were more concentrated in farm occupations and less concentrated in professional or executive occupations than the other two groups.⁴ And finally, a child is more likely to leave school prematurely if he comes from a large family; more than half of the French-language students come from families with five or more children, compared to about one-quarter of the students in the other two groups.⁵ These factors have no necessary connection with the language spoken in the home, but in each case the Francophone group was disproportionately affected. The Carnegie data showed that the concentration of the Francophone students in the less favoured socio-economic categories did account in part for this poorer academic record, but that these factors do not provide a full explanation.⁶ For example, of the Francophone students in Grade IX, 58 per cent came

¹ See Appendix II, Table 2.

² King and Angi, "Language and Secondary School Success," Table V.

³ *Ibid.*, Tables VI and VII.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Table IV.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Table IX.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Tables IV-IX and XLVIII-XCV.

from families of five or more children, compared with 26 per cent of the English and 23 per cent of the "other-language" groups.¹ Five years later many of these Francophone students had left school, but those that remained still formed 49 per cent of the group.² If family size had been a major factor in the higher rate of attrition of the Francophone students, this percentage would have been much smaller.

227. Evidence from the study suggests also that the poorer academic record of the French-speaking students cannot be explained by the attitudes of the students or their parents to education. A student's career in school is likely to be affected by the importance which the parents and the child give to education. The attitude will doubtless reflect to some extent the factors already discussed—such as the educational level of the parents—but it will also reflect aspirations not solely determined by such factors. Of the students in Grade IX, three out of every four expected to complete secondary school; the ratio was the same in each of the three language groups.³ The parents were slightly less optimistic, but again there was no significant difference in the attitudes of the parents for the three groups of students. This uniform pattern is modified slightly but not significantly by differing plans for post-secondary education, because a higher proportion of the parents and students in the Francophone group saw some kind of vocational training or a job as the next step, rather than a university education.

Attitudes not
a factor

228. Academic factors must also be considered. As we have seen, the Francophone group in Grade IX was rated far below the Anglophone or the "other-language" group on the basis of the tests of academic aptitude or of achievement in English and mathematics. However one accounts for the results of these tests, it seems logical to assume that the Francophones suffered an academic handicap and that this handicap would be reflected to some extent in the poor academic record of the group through secondary school. The analysis of the data supported this hypothesis. Students from the other two groups with low scores on these tests also had a similar high attrition rate. To the extent that the results on the Grade IX aptitude and achievement tests explain the secondary school record of the Francophones, we are forced back to the problem of why these students did not do better on these tests. The education they had received in "bilingual" separate schools and the transition to English-language public schools are obviously of crucial importance. However, the distribution within the French-language group based on these test marks did not change significantly over the five-year period. We are led to the conclusion that the test results

Academic
factors

¹ *Ibid.*, Table IX.

² *Ibid.*, Table XCV.

³ See Appendix II, Table 3.

Teachers' ratings

were related to subsequent achievement but that they do not fully explain the secondary school record of the French-language group.

229. We have been discussing the backgrounds, the attitudes, and the academic records of the students. The Carnegie study also provides some data on the teachers' evaluations of these students. The teachers rated their students on the basis of reliability, co-operativeness, industry, physical stamina, energy, and the probability of completing Grade xiii. In each category, the Francophone group was consistently placed below the Anglophone group, with the "other-language" group receiving the highest ratings. Such subjective evaluations are difficult to assess. If the teachers' judgements were sound, it suggests that the Francophones as a group lacked some of the qualities which favourably affect scholastic achievement. On the other hand, it is possible that the French-speaking students had cultural characteristics distinguishing them from the other two groups and that the teachers were judging them by standards not entirely appropriate. The analysis of the data gives some support to this second hypothesis because, although higher ratings were usually associated with a more prolonged secondary school career, there was a lower correlation for the Francophone group between these ratings and the retention rate than for the other two groups.

Francophones—
the least consistent
group

230. This difference in the correlation between teachers' ratings and achievement for the Francophones and the other two language groups was only one example of what proved to be a general rule. When the subsequent school career of the student was correlated separately with the various socio-economic factors, with the data on attitudes, and with the achievement on aptitude and academic tests, it was discovered that in almost every case the Francophone group seemed to be less consistent than the other two groups.¹ Even when the results of the achievement tests in English and mathematics administered in Grade ix were correlated with actual school marks in these subjects or with the same tests administered in Grades x and xi, the correlations for the French-language group were significantly lower. Taken together, all these correlations produce a consistent pattern. The factors usually linked with

¹There was a much higher correlation for the Anglophones and the "others" than for the Francophones between the number of years spent in secondary school and the scores on each of the aptitude and achievement tests. Only two correlations did not follow this pattern. When the years spent in secondary school were correlated with the age at Grade i and the age at the time of the Carnegie study, it was found that older students tended to leave school sooner. This pattern was more consistent for the English- than for the French-language group but the correlation was higher for both of these than for the "other-language" group. The explanation for the connection between age and school success seems to be that children who are older than their school companions are more likely to leave school, and this tendency is accentuated by the repetition of a grade at the elementary level. For some reason the "other-language" group did not conform as closely to this pattern as did the English- and the French-language groups. With this exception, however, the Francophones had lower correlations in every case.

secondary school achievement are less reliable indicators for the Francophones than for the other two language groups.

231. This observation was supported by a “multiple discriminant” analysis, a statistical technique used to analyze the three groups of students in terms of the factors which differentiated between the composition of these groups. In comparing the Francophone and Anglophone groups over the five-year period, the most consistent factors which discriminated between these two groups were the physical stamina and energy ratings by the teachers, the year of birth, the student’s impression of his parents’ plans for his education, and the score on one of the mathematical achievement tests (CMAT III). In comparing the Francophones with the “other-language” group, the most consistent discriminators were the co-operation rating, the physical stamina and energy rating, the father’s occupation, and the parents’ plans for their child’s education. The fact that the same factors discriminated between these groups for each year of the five-year period suggests that the differences between these groups remained almost constant during this period. The students who withdrew did not affect the balance between the three groups. This means that none of the many factors we have analyzed can account for the much higher attrition rate of the Francophone group.

232. There are factors which might explain the apparent inconsistency of the French-language group but for which the Carnegie study provides no data. It is possible, for example, that there is a connection between religious affiliation and school achievement. We can safely assume that the Anglophone group included students of many religious faiths, whereas the Franco-Ontarian students would be overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. However, a significant proportion of the students in the “other-language” group would also be Roman Catholics,¹ so that it seems unlikely that the high attrition rate of the Francophone students can be explained by their religious affiliation. It is regrettable that the data does not show whether students attended “bilingual” or English-language, separate or public, elementary schools. We can assume that most of the French-language group attended “bilingual” separate schools, but it would have been helpful to compare the records of students from “bilingual” and English-language separate schools, and to compare these in turn with those students from public schools. We are left with the

Possible
explanations

¹ D. G. MacEachern, Carnegie Study of Identification and Utilization of Talent in High School and College, Bulletin No. 1, *Twenty Questions; A Quick Look at 90,000 People* (Toronto, 1960). For this “other-language” group, the major languages listed were German, Dutch, Italian, Ukrainian, and Polish, in that order. All of these categories would include a significant proportion of Roman Catholic families, and some would be predominantly Roman Catholic.

The cultural
factor

possibility that the apparent unpredictability of the Francophone group may somehow be linked to their "bilingual" separate school background.

233. The French-language group may also have followed a different pattern because of their special cultural background. Language or religion cannot fully explain the differences because the "other-language" group was remarkably successful in school. It is surely significant, however, that the French-speaking minority is unique in its success in preserving its cultural identity. For generations it has survived in Ontario as a cultural group; it is French-speaking and Catholic but it is also a society with organizations and institutions which help to maintain and reinforce its distinctive outlook. Other minority groups in Ontario strive to preserve their cultural heritage, but it is generally conceded that the Franco-Ontarians have been the most successful in preserving a distinctive cultural milieu. It is this fact which almost certainly lies behind the uniqueness of the French-language group in the Carnegie study.

234. There can be little doubt that the attitude of Franco-Ontarians towards the public school system of the province has been ambivalent. The Carnegie data show that Francophone parents and children thought that a secondary school education was desirable—in this they resembled the other two groups. But this stress on the value of education does not reflect the misgivings many Francophones have had about the actual public school system. For the Anglophone parents, an English-language school presents no conflict of values; the same is doubtless true for the parents of the "other-language" groups who have accepted English as the language of Ontario. For Roman Catholics the importance given to education may be countered by misgivings about the non-sectarian character of public secondary schools, but only for Franco-Ontarians has this misgiving been reinforced by the language question. For them an English-language public school presented more starkly the conflict between the value of education and the value of their cultural identity. Rightly or wrongly, they were likely to see the school as a threat to this identity.

235. This ambivalence may well have been accentuated by other aspects of the secondary schools. Our analysis of the Carnegie data suggests that the schools unconsciously assumed norms inappropriate for Francophone students. We have already noted that the teachers gave them lower ratings on such qualities as reliability, industry, and physical stamina, but that for this group these ratings had a lower correlation with school achievement. The aptitude and achievement tests may also be based on the inappropriate norms. The fact that the tests were all in English is suggestive; it is taken for granted that the graduates of "bilingual" elementary schools will do as well on these tests as the graduates of English-language schools. But there may be a problem of

cultural as well as language differences. With different cultural groups involved, the problem of comparability becomes more complex because experiences will be coloured by institutional and cultural differences. Even if the tests are carefully translated, the results will not be comparable. In South Africa, for example, even on the same non-verbal test, the norms were different for Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking students. Do the higher average marks of one group mean that this group is superior, or that the questions were less difficult for this group because of a cultural bias? Experts disagree on the interpretation of the results, but the example illustrates the difficulty involved in using tests to compare the aptitudes and achievements of students from different cultural backgrounds.¹ Cultural differences can hardly explain the low test marks of the French-language group in the Carnegie study but they may help to explain the relative unreliability of these test scores for assessing its subsequent performance. The inference from our analysis is that the Ontario school system assumes certain norms less appropriate to Franco-Ontarians than to other students in the province.

236. This means that the usual approaches to educational reform will not be adequate for the French-speaking minority. Young Franco-Ontarians have economic handicaps and low aptitude and achievement scores, but there are many other children in Ontario in a similar situation. For the French-speaking children, however, these cannot be dissociated from their distinctive cultural outlook. It will be necessary to dissipate their apprehensions about the school system and to establish comparable norms for these children before they can have secondary school careers which follow the pattern of the other students in the province.

A new approach
needed

237. The proposed French-language elementary and secondary schools should help to dispel the misgivings of Franco-Ontarians about the provincial school system. The proposed change in the language of instruction, however, will not be enough. The translation of all the instructional materials now available in English would ignore the cultural background of Francophone students. These children are not Anglophones who happen to have learned French by some accident of birth. The courses of study in the proposed schools must take the cultural differences into account. Some efforts will also be required to convince parents, made sceptical by past experience, that these new schools are not a threat to cultural survival.

¹ H. P. Langenhoven, *Intergroup Comparison in Psychological Measurement*, Department of Education, Arts and Science: National Council of Social Research (Pretoria, 1963), describes the experience in South Africa with these tests and argues that the difference in norms must be attributed to cultural bias, because the achievement in school of the two groups does not reflect this difference. Critics of Langenhoven argue that the evidence from school achievement is not reliable.

4. Teachers

A need for
special
qualifications

238. No description of a school system is complete without some discussion of teacher training and qualifications. For the "bilingual" elementary schools of Ontario, the teachers have been especially important. Not only have they been responsible for teaching the elementary school curriculum but they have also been faced with language problems which other teachers in Ontario do not encounter. Their students are expected to become proficient in a second language as well as studying French and covering the regular curriculum. Teachers in "bilingual" schools might therefore be expected to have the same qualifications as teachers in English-language elementary schools and, in addition, a special competence in the two languages.

Lower qualifica-
tions in "bilingual"
schools

239. In fact the qualifications of "bilingual" school teachers in Ontario are much inferior. The minimum qualification required by the department of Education for a first-class certificate is the equivalent of senior matriculation (Grade XIII) and one year of teacher training. Until very recently, however, a second-class certificate was issued for the equivalent of junior matriculation (Grade XII) and one year of teacher training. Of the teachers in public elementary schools in 1963, 95 per cent had a first-class certificate or better. For the teachers in English-language separate schools the figure was 68 per cent; for teachers in "bilingual" separate schools it was 45 per cent.¹ This startling contrast cannot be explained by the proportionately large number of "bilingual" schools in rural districts. Even in Ottawa, teachers in the "bilingual" schools have inferior qualifications. In 1964 less than 1 per cent of the public elementary school teachers of Ottawa and 6 per cent of the teachers in English-language separate schools had second-class certificates, whereas 44 per cent of the teachers in the "bilingual" separate schools were in this category.²

240. The poorer qualifications of separate school teachers have been attributed in part of the inadequate revenues of separate schools in the past; however, this does not explain the disparity between the qualifications of teachers in English-language and "bilingual" separate schools in the same community. Both types of separate school are administered by the same school board.

Too few
graduates

241. Higher salaries might have attracted better qualified teachers or induced teachers to improve their qualifications, but there are limits to the effectiveness of financial incentives. The real problem is that teachers are drawn from graduates of the secondary school system, and too few graduates will mean too few well-qualified teachers. The lower qualifica-

¹ N. Baird, "Finances of Bilingual Elementary Schools in Ontario," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., Table IV-3-b.

² According to information compiled by Commission researchers in the course of their study of the Federal Capital.

tions of teachers in "bilingual" schools, who must be French-speaking, cannot be dissociated from the fact that very few Franco-Ontarian students complete Grade XIII. It is one of the anomalies of the Ontario school system that, although "bilingual" elementary schools were supposed to be part of the system, they survived almost in spite of the system.

242. The shortage of well-qualified teachers has been further accentuated by the fact that English has been the major language of instruction in the secondary schools and an education in English is not the ideal preparation for teaching in French. A secondary school graduate may be more at ease in English, even if French is his mother tongue, and may prefer to teach in that language. Probably the majority of teachers in the "bilingual" schools are not even graduates of the public secondary schools but of the private schools where French is still used as the language of instruction.¹

The result of
secondary
schooling in
English

243. The department of Education has not only relied on private schools for teachers for its "bilingual" schools; in some ways it has encouraged them. Grade XIII is the usual prerequisite for admission to provincial teachers' colleges, and the prospective teacher must attend the college for one year. Very few of the private schools offer Grade XIII. The department has therefore lowered the admission requirement to Grade XII for institutions training teachers for the "bilingual" schools, and has offered a two-year teacher-training programme. Until very recently there was also a one-year programme in these colleges, and graduates of this programme were given second-class certificates, so it is not surprising that so few of the teachers in "bilingual" schools have first-class certificates. The lower entrance requirements have permitted—almost encouraged—lower qualifications for teachers in the "bilingual" schools.

Lower admission
requirements

244. The training of teachers for "bilingual" schools has thus reinforced the separation of these schools from the provincial school system. It was possible and not unusual for these teachers to begin their education in "bilingual" elementary schools, to continue in this system for Grades IX and X, to complete Grades XI and XII in private schools, to attend a bilingual teachers' college for one year, and then return to "bilingual" elementary schools as teachers. Even the recent change, which requires two years at the bilingual teachers' colleges after Grade XII, will not disrupt this pattern, although it will end the pernicious system of issuing second-class certificates. This separation from the other schools of the province is further illustrated by the system of

¹ See *Les écoles secondaires privées franco-ontariennes*, brief of the Commission d'étude de l'Association des écoles secondaires privées franco-ontariennes, presented to the Ontario government, December 1966. Enrolment of students from private schools in bilingual normal schools is given on page 24.

school inspection, with inspectors for the "bilingual" schools usually drawn from the ranks of the teachers in these schools.

245. The proposed French-language elementary and secondary schools offer some hope for the future. Within a decade, new teachers will probably be graduates of a French-language secondary school. But it will be some time before the necessary curriculum revisions can be introduced in these proposed schools. It is also certain that for many years most of the teachers in these schools will come from the present "bilingual" elementary schools and the private secondary schools. The present inadequacies of education for the Franco-Ontarian minority will not be dispelled by making French a legal language of instruction. Special efforts will be required to improve teachers' qualifications and to reduce the isolation of Francophone schools from the provincial school system.

5. Universities

246. Elementary school, secondary school, and university form the usual sequence in formal academic education. For the Francophone minority in Ontario, however, this sequence has had one peculiarity. The transition from the elementary system to the secondary public school system has been marked by the transition from French to English as the main language of instruction, but at the university level the student may once again pursue his studies in French. There are now two provincially supported bilingual universities in Ontario—the University of Ottawa and Laurentian University in Sudbury.

Laurentian
University

247. Laurentian University was founded in 1960, with the objective of establishing one major institution of higher learning, bilingual and non-denominational, for Northern Ontario. Affiliated with the University in the same year were the University of Sudbury, a Roman Catholic institution, and Huntington College, supported by the United Church. In 1963 the Anglican Thornaloe College joined the federation. Laurentian University lists as its cultural objective "the maintenance and promotion of both the English and the French languages and cultures" and aims to be "a place where theories and techniques of co-operation between cultures can be put to the test and taught to the future leaders of Canadian communities."¹ The administration is bilingual and publications are in the two languages. French-speaking students form less than one-fifth of the student body, however, and are decreasing in proportion.² Consequently there is a tendency to offer an increasing number of courses in English only, especially at the senior level and in

¹ *Laurentian University Calendar of the Faculty of Arts and Science*, cited in L. Painchaud, "Description du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme de trois universités," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 67.

² See Appendix II, Table 4.

certain disciplines.¹ If French-speaking students are to take full advantage of the opportunities offered, they must be bilingual. The complete range of courses is offered in English, so English-speaking students are less likely to acquire a fluent knowledge of French.

248. The University of Ottawa has a tradition of bilingualism and biculturalism extending over a century. The administration is bilingual and the student body is almost equally divided between Anglophones and Francophones. The language in which courses are offered varies from faculty to faculty and even from department to department. Certain sectors are predominantly French (arts, social sciences, domestic science, civil law). Others are almost entirely in English (science, medicine, common law). Still others, such as psychology, have parallel language divisions.² It should be pointed out that the graduate programme at the masters, licentiate, and doctoral levels has been well developed at the University of Ottawa. Some departments such as French, history, and geography offer special doctoral programmes designed to further the study of French Canadian culture. A research centre for French Canadian literature, with archives and a special library of Canadiana, has existed since 1958; it is at the moment publishing five series of studies dealing exclusively with the cultural life of French Canada.

The University
of Ottawa

249. In its general aspects the University of Ottawa is a bilingual institution, but at the same time students are restricted in their choice of courses depending on the language of instruction. This is a particular handicap for French-speaking students desiring to register in such professional courses as medicine or nursing. The two bilingual universities of Ontario do not offer French-language education for Franco-Ontarians to the extent that the three English-language universities of Quebec offer English-language higher education to Quebec Anglophones.³

6. Summary

250. The education provided for the French-speaking students in Ontario is presumably intended to give them educational opportunities equivalent to those available to English-speaking students: it attempts to foster their knowledge of their mother tongue and to give them a good knowledge of English. These are commendable objectives, but the edu-

¹ See Appendix II, Table 5.

² See Appendix II, Table 6.

³ The University of Ottawa has encouraged the extension of education in French by accepting the affiliation of private colleges in Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Quebec: Collège Bruyère (since 1925), Petit séminaire d'Ottawa (since 1925), Collège Notre-Dame (1932-59), all in Ottawa, and Collège de Sudbury (1916-28), Collège Mathieu de Gravelbourg (since 1924), Collège Saint-Jean d'Edmonton (since 1928) and Collège de Rouyn (1954-64).

cational régime has never been consistently structured on the basis of these objectives. French-speaking students have sometimes been given the special consideration which these objectives imply, but at other times they have been lumped together with the Anglophone majority as if no distinction needed to be made. Even more serious were the gaps in continuity and the lack of co-ordination between one level and the next. In spite of increasing recognition of the need for a more adequate education for the official-language minority in the province, French-language education in Ontario has not been organized in a co-ordinated sequence comparable to English-language education.

251. Recent legislation marks a dramatic change in educational policy. Provincial authorities have tended to emphasize the diversification of educational opportunities at the secondary level, and spokesmen for the Francophone minority have stressed the importance of instruction in the mother tongue. The proposed French-language schools may make it possible to combine these two objectives. Agreement has been reached on the language of instruction. It is now possible to concentrate on providing an education in French which will be equivalent in academic standards and in variety to the education now provided in English.

B. New Brunswick

The Acadian community

252. The province of New Brunswick deserves special attention in our study of minority-language education. Here the Francophone minority—most of whom are Acadians—can scarcely be considered a minority in the same terms as Francophones in the other English-speaking provinces. Francophones form more than one-third of the total New Brunswick population, and are an overwhelming majority in many counties.¹ As a group they are quite distinct from other Francophone Canadians, and their evolution has been gravely marked by their historical experience. Almost from the time of their arrival in 1604 they were the victims of the conflict between France and England for possession of the new world, a conflict which culminated in the Acadian expulsion in the middle of the 18th century. The resettlement was accomplished in the face of incredible hardships, in a hostile environment, by a people devoid of all resources. It is against this background that Acadian education has to be examined.

A changing system

253. Today New Brunswick is of special interest because dramatic changes are being introduced. But these changes are being introduced so rapidly that no one can speak with assurance about the new system

¹ According to the census of 1961, 35 per cent of the population of New Brunswick was French by mother tongue, and 38 per cent was of French ethnic origin.

being created. A pattern of a French-language education for the Acadians from elementary school to university seems to be emerging, although there are still some gaps and some policies which have not yet been fully implemented. The administrative and financial organization of provincial education is also in the process of almost revolutionary change, and again the implications for the linguistic minority can only be deduced. Any detailed description of the present situation would soon be out of date. Fortunately, our concern is with the major aspects of French-language education in the province and, although even here some of our conclusions may have to be qualified, the broad outline seems clear.

1. Elementary schools

254. Most of the French-speaking children of New Brunswick attend elementary schools in which French is the language of instruction. In communities with a significant majority of Acadians, public schools have probably always been French, although there is no precise information because the statistics of the department of Education do not distinguish between schools on the basis of the language of instruction. In communities with an Acadian minority, the struggle to obtain French-language education has been long and difficult. The department of Education permits but does not guarantee French-language schools. The decision rests with the local authorities. In Moncton, where the Acadians now constitute more than one-third of the population, the first French-language classes in a public school were established in 1909 and the first public French-language elementary school was opened in 1923. The first public "bilingual" school in Fredericton opened in January 1967, offering French instruction in the first four grades.¹ A public "bilingual" elementary school is planned for Saint John in the fall of 1968. Acadian access to minority elementary schools has therefore depended upon an Acadian majority in the community or on the willingness of the English-speaking majority to agree to French-language education.

Decision of
the local
majority

255. Today these minority-language schools provide a predominantly French environment for the pupils but until the 1950's the official purpose of these schools was to teach the children to study in English. Although this objective was not always explicit, it can be deduced from two facts—only English textbooks were provided, apart from

A changing policy

¹ In 1963 the Acadians in Fredericton asked that one of the new classrooms to be provided that year be set aside for French-speaking children in the first three grades, with a bilingual teacher using the same curriculum as the minority-language schools of the province. The Fredericton School Board refused. La Société nationale des Acadiens subsequently collected money to open a private French-language school in Fredericton in 1966. Cited in H. G. Thorburn, "The Political Participation of the French-speaking Population of New Brunswick," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 77.

those used for the teaching of French, and the students were expected to go on to public secondary schools where English was the language of instruction. Over the last two decades, however, the official policy has changed. Today almost all the textbooks, apart from those used for the teaching of English, are in French, although many of them are translations from English. Examinations may be taken in French, and the language of instruction is French. The major difference between the curricula of English- and French-language schools is that English is taught from the first year in the French-language schools, but French is not introduced until the fifth year in the English-language schools. Francophone children are required to study the same material as the other students in the province, and at the same time are expected to acquire a higher degree of competence in the second language.

256. Why has the official concept of "bilingual" schools in the province shifted from predominantly English-language to predominantly French-language schools? There is no simple answer to this question. If Acadian children were to be effectively taught in English it would have been necessary to prepare special programmes for the "bilingual" schools, to prepare special textbooks and examinations, and to train teachers specifically for this purpose. These steps were not taken.

257. The teachers in Acadian schools were almost invariably Acadians, and it was natural that they should communicate with their students in French. The use of French in these schools was also reinforced by the determination of Acadian parents to preserve their mother tongue. Under these circumstances, the objective of preparing Acadian pupils for English-language secondary schools was unrealistic. The official shift to the acceptance of French as a language of instruction was an admission of this fact. The first step in educational reform for the Acadian population was to provide an education acceptable to Acadians. The official acceptance of French-language elementary schools in recent years can probably be accounted for by the recognition of the need for improving the educational level among Acadians and a greater willingness to accept their aspirations to preserve their language.

2. Secondary schools

Permissive teaching in French

258. At the secondary level, generalizations on minority-language schools are more difficult because bilingual secondary schools are a recent development in New Brunswick. Two decades ago, Francophones might be grouped together in separate classes in the school, but with minor exceptions they used the same textbooks and wrote the same examinations as English-speaking students and the language of instruction—at least officially—was English. Since that time, significant steps

have been taken to provide a complete education in French for French-speaking children. In 1949 special textbooks were adopted for the teaching of French to Acadian students in public secondary schools; a year later a special programme for the teaching of English was introduced. In 1959 permission was given to teach history in French; a Quebec history textbook was officially approved and examinations could be written in French. In 1965 the department of Education announced that mathematics and science could also be taught in French—always, of course, at the option of the local school authorities. These changes suggest that what is now being developed in New Brunswick is a bilingual secondary school curriculum in which textbooks, examinations, and the language of instruction will be predominantly French.

259. It is not easy to describe the actual situation in such a period of transition. In many schools French was used in the classroom even before French textbooks were approved, but in other places the school boards have been reluctant to adopt the new courses of study. Possibly the easiest way to show the implications of the changes is to trace the modifications introduced in a single community.

260. Ten years ago in Moncton, children graduating from an elementary school had no opportunity for a bilingual education in the public secondary schools. The special programmes in French and English for bilingual students had been approved by the provincial authorities but they had not been adopted by the Moncton School Board. As an alternative to the public secondary schools, boys could attend the Collège l'Assomption, a private classical college founded in 1943, and girls could attend the Collège Notre-Dame d'Acadie, established in Moncton in 1949. Both these schools followed the provincial curriculum for academic and commercial subjects at the secondary level. The two colleges existed because they alone provided an education which was confessional in character and in which French was the primary language of instruction.¹

The example
of Moncton

261. Since that time there have been dramatic changes. Bilingual classes were organized in one public secondary school in 1960 and at another in the following year. Francophones could then follow the special programmes of French, English, and history designed for bilingual students and, at the same time, they could benefit from the presence of Francophone teachers who could give explanations in French in other subjects if necessary. In 1963 a new school was opened—the Vanier High School for Francophone students—in which all classes permitted

¹ The Collège l'Assomption was built by the French-language parishes of Moncton and the costs were met by student fees and contributions from the parishes. The Collège Notre-Dame was built by the nuns of the order of Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur and the expenses were again defrayed in part by student fees. The two colleges also received federal grants for post-secondary instruction.

in French are taught in French. The significance of this development can be seen from the decision of the provincial department of Education two years later to allow students at this school to study physics from a French textbook and to let them write the examination in French as an experiment. The establishment of a bilingual high school, by grouping the Francophones together, has drawn attention to their special needs and has made it possible to test new programmes designed to meet these needs.

262. The impact of Vanier High School can also be seen in its effect on the two private colleges in Moncton. With instruction given in French in most subjects in a public secondary school, one of the major reasons for the private schools was eliminated and, although Vanier High School is non-confessional, the teaching staff is at least predominantly Roman Catholic.¹ The Collège l'Assomption was closed in 1964 and the Collège Notre-Dame discontinued instruction at the secondary level in 1967. These developments suggest that the provincial school system is offering a curriculum corresponding more closely to the aspirations of the Acadians in Moncton.

263. However, there are significant limitations to the opportunities available to French-speaking students at the secondary level, even in Moncton. Vanier High School offers an academic programme leading to university entrance as well as a four-year general course and a commercial programme. It does not offer a technical or an industrial programme, or a programme of domestic science. Acadian students wishing to follow these courses must attend schools in which English is the language of instruction. Nor is this limitation on vocational training confined to the Acadians of Moncton. The province of New Brunswick has established five regional technical institutes for students who have not completed secondary school, but the programmes, textbooks, and instruction are normally in English. In the New Brunswick Institute of Technology at Moncton, for example, we were told of a class in which 23 of the 25 students were Francophone, but which had to follow an English programme.² The Institute at Bathurst, with more than 80 per cent Francophone enrolment, is an exception: much of the instruction is given in French, although even here English textbooks are used.

Low achieve-
ment of
Acadians

264. Undoubtedly one reason for these changes at the secondary school level was a growing concern about the large proportion of Acadian children who dropped out of school at an early age, and about the low academic achievement of the Acadians who did complete secondary school. We have already referred to the difficulty of comparing academic standards because of the problem of weighing various socio-

¹ At the same time the establishment of the University of Moncton duplicated the post-secondary education which these colleges had provided.

² Brief of the Société l'Assomption.

economic factors. Nonetheless, the results of the province-wide departmental examinations written at the end of secondary school are at least a useful indicator. These examinations are prepared and marked by the department of Education and in many cases the same examination is written by both Francophone and Anglophone students. They are not standardized achievement tests in a technical sense but—since the student's marks largely determine whether he receives a high school diploma, is admitted to university, and is eligible for a university scholarship—these examinations are obviously treated as tests of academic achievement in a very real sense. Therefore, it is instructive to compare the marks attained by Francophones and Anglophones in the province.

265. Such a comparison was made for the years 1959 to 1961 in a thesis presented at the University of New Brunswick in 1965.¹ Schools in the province were classified as having a primarily Francophone, Anglophone, or mixed enrolment and a comparison was made of the average marks attained by the students in these three categories of schools.² The analysis would have been more exact if the actual marks of each student had been accessible, but the contrast between the Francophone and Anglophone schools was so great that further statistical refinements would not have affected the general conclusions. Students in Francophone schools were significantly less successful than those in Anglophone schools. The difference was most marked in mathematics and science subjects, where all the students in the province wrote the same examinations. On the language examinations, the average marks were higher on the papers prepared for the Francophones than on those prepared for the Anglophones. For language subjects, however, the two groups of students wrote different examinations so the results were not comparable. In any case, the combined average of students in Francophone schools was far below the combined average of students in Anglophone schools in spite of the higher marks on language examinations. For mixed schools, where no distinction could be made between Francophone and Anglophone students, the marks in all subjects tended to fall between the two groups.³ Possibly the most striking comparison deals with students receiving honours certificates for having a general average of 75 per cent or better on departmental examinations. In the

¹ Jean-Pierre Michaud, "Academic Standards of French-language High Schools of the Province of New Brunswick" (unpublished M. Ed. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1965).

² The distinction was based on the language examination written, since different sets of language examinations are prepared for French-speaking and English-speaking students. Mixed schools were those where at least two of each set of examinations were written.

³ 1961 was an exceptional year because in that year the mixed school averages in mathematics and science were higher than those of the French- and English-language schools. See Michaud, "Academic Standards," 69.

three-year period covered by the analysis, only one honours certificate in eight was awarded to a Francophone. When it is recalled that more than one child in every three is French-speaking, the disparity in the marks on departmental examinations is obvious.

The Byrne report

266. New Brunswick authorities are well aware of the existing inadequacies of the secondary schools in Acadian communities. In 1963 the Royal Commission on Finance and Municipal Taxation, under the chairmanship of E. G. Byrne, described the great variation in the level of educational services throughout the province and commented on the glaring disparity between the services provided for English-speaking and French-speaking students.¹ To the extent that expenditures on education reflect quality, the commission showed that Acadian children were receiving an inferior education.

267. The available statistics are not conclusive because educational costs of English-language and "bilingual" schools are not separated in provincial accounts. A rough comparison is possible, however, because of the geographical concentration of the two language groups.²

268. One basic financial statistic for any school system is the average expenditure per pupil. In 1960, for the three predominantly French counties this average expenditure was \$147; for the six predominantly English counties it was \$208.³ In essence, these two averages sum up the contrast between Acadian schools and English-language schools in the province. The main reason for this disparity is that the predominantly French counties are poor counties. To the extent that local property taxes finance education, the schools in the French counties were handicapped. The provincial operating grants did not compensate for this; indeed, many of the grants benefited schools which already had larger budgets. For the three predominantly French counties the average operating grant in 1961 was just under \$40

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Finance and Municipal Taxation in New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1963), 20, 126.

² Over 80 per cent of the population of Gloucester, Kent, and Madawaska counties is French by ethnic origin, whereas over 80 per cent of the population of the counties of Albert, Carleton, Charlotte, Kings, Queens, and York traces its origin to the British Isles. A comparison between the educational costs of these two groups of counties will reflect fairly accurately the average expenditures on French- as opposed to English-language students in the province. The comparison is all the more convincing because these counties contain almost half the population of New Brunswick, and because the population of the three predominantly Francophone counties is not far short of the population of the other six. The reliability of the statistics is also suggested by the fact that in the six counties not included, where the population is more mixed, the expenditures on education usually fall between the extremes of these two groups of counties. The figures are based on the 1961 census. The total population of New Brunswick was 597,936; in the three counties whose inhabitants are predominantly of French origin the total population was 131,993; and in the six of predominantly British origin, it was 151,497. On the basis of mother tongue rather than ethnic origin, the percentage of French or English per county would still be more than 80 per cent.

³ *Report of the Royal Commission on Finance and Municipal Taxation in New Brunswick*, 126, Table 8:1.

per pupil; in the six predominantly English counties it was just over \$55 per pupil.¹ Acadians thus spent less money on education, not because they were Acadians but because they were poorer.

269. It must be remembered, however, that the education system on which these comparisons were based is now virtually undergoing a financial revolution. In broad terms, the provincial government has undertaken to meet the costs of education with the objective of ensuring a minimum standard of education in all parts of the province. School expenditures will no longer be determined by municipal tax revenues. The great financial disparity between French- and English-language schools is to be eliminated. To the extent that expenditures determine the standard of education, Acadian students should not suffer a disadvantage in the future.

3. Teachers

270. Schools may be improved by changes in departmental policies or by financial reforms, but the teacher remains the focus of educational change. Raising the qualifications of teachers is complicated by the fact that prospective teachers are themselves the product of the existing educational system; training institutions must compensate for the weaknesses of the existing schools. In New Brunswick a good deal of attention has been given to the problem of teachers for official minority-language schools and significant changes have been introduced or planned.

Teacher
qualifications

271. The financial plight of Acadian schools has been reflected in the lower academic qualifications of teachers in these schools. School boards could not offer high enough salaries to attract or retain well-qualified teachers. In 1961 almost 25 per cent of the teachers in the predominantly French counties did not have a permanent teacher's certificate; in the English counties the figure was slightly under 4 per cent.² At the same time teachers in the French counties were teaching significantly larger classes, with an average enrolment of 26 compared to 22 in the English counties.³ With less adequately trained teachers teaching more students, it is safe to assume that academic standards were significantly lower. When it is recalled in the Acadian schools the teaching of English as a second language is added to the normal course load, the contrast with the English-language schools becomes even more marked.

272. Money, of course, is only part of the problem. Teachers must also be adequately trained to teach in the minority-language schools of

Training courses
unsatisfactory

¹ *Ibid.*, 80, Table 4:12. In this table pupils in Grades VII to XII were considered to be the equivalent of one and one-half elementary pupils. The averages given above for the two groups of counties are unweighted averages.

² *Ibid.*, 127, Table 8:2.

³ *Ibid.*, 93, Table 4:14. These figures refer only to rural schools.

the province; most of these teachers will be Acadians, because few Anglophone teachers will be prepared to teach in French. Until recently, high school graduates who wished to obtain a permanent teacher's certificate had to attend the Teachers' College in Fredericton for two years. An effort was made to accommodate Acadian students who expected to teach in the "bilingual" elementary schools of the province; half of their courses were taught in French and there was a special methodology course in the teaching of English. However, the efforts of the Teachers' College were not entirely successful. Acadian educational leaders argued that Fredericton was an alien milieu for French-speaking students and that Acadians were reluctant to go there.¹ It was clear that these procedures did not meet the cultural needs of the minority-language group and that not enough elementary teachers were going to be trained at Fredericton to meet the needs of the French-language schools in the province. The importance of the milieu is also suggested by the popularity of Francophone institutions in the province where summer school courses permit teachers to improve their qualifications.

273. The situation was even less satisfactory at the secondary level. All training for this level at the Teachers' College was given in English because traditionally all secondary school teaching was to be in English—the increasing use of French in the "bilingual" secondary schools was not immediately reflected in the college programme. Very few Acadian students entered this secondary school programme. There are many possible explanations for this. Again, there was the fact of the English milieu of Fredericton, coupled this time with the difficulty of competing in English on equal terms with Anglophone students. It is also possible that the graduates of French-language high schools were less adequately trained in other academic subjects than other students attending the College.² However, students with a university degree were not required to follow this two-year programme at the Teachers' College and could qualify for a permanent certificate at summer school. It is interesting that in the three predominantly French counties the proportion of teachers with a university degree was close to or even above the provincial average, whereas in all of the six predominantly English counties it was below the provincial average.³ The French-language schools were thus in the anomalous position of having a higher proportion of teachers without permanent certificates and also a higher proportion with university degrees. It is obvious that the Teachers' College was not adequately serving the needs of the secondary schools in the Acadian area.

¹ Brief of the Association acadienne d'éducation du Nouveau-Brunswick.

² The brief of the Société l'Assomption includes a discussion of Fredericton Teachers' College.

³ *Report of the Royal Commission on Finance and Municipal Taxation in New Brunswick*, 126, Table 8:1. Figures for 1961.

274. The provincial government was not unaware of this problem. In 1962 the Royal Commission on Higher Education in New Brunswick, under the chairmanship of John J. Deutsch, suggested the location of teacher-training facilities on the campus of the proposed University of Moncton.¹ The government officially accepted this recommendation, and courses began in the fall of 1968. This new institution is expected to attract more prospective teachers from among the graduates of Acadian high schools and should be able to provide a programme tailored to suit the special needs of teachers for Acadian schools. It will also, incidentally, make it possible for teachers in the schools for French-speaking students in the other Atlantic provinces to obtain this special training. To the extent that this institution can train the needed teachers, one of the major problems of the Acadian schools is on its way to being resolved, not only for New Brunswick but for the whole region.

The Deutsch
report

4. *The University of Moncton*

275. The University of Moncton is one of the key institutions in the developing system of education for the French-speaking citizens of New Brunswick. The establishment of this university was recommended in 1962 by the Deutsch Commission, which pointed out that "There is no reason to suppose that the French-speaking high school graduate is less interested in higher education than his English-speaking counterpart. Indeed, the available evidence indicates that the rates for continuation to higher education among English-speaking and French-speaking high school graduates are now approximately equal."²

A key institution

276. The commission also pointed out that very few Francophones attended the English-language universities of the province. At that time there were three French-language universities in the province. The Université du Sacré-Cœur at Bathurst and the Université Saint-Louis at Edmundston were classical colleges operated by the Eudist Order; the Université Saint-Joseph at Moncton, operated by the Holy Cross Order, offered the classical course and also programmes in commerce, science, education, and engineering. The Deutsch Commission concluded that the pressure for enrolment in these institutions would increase very quickly; not only was a higher proportion of all secondary school graduates likely to attend university in the future, but in New Brunswick a higher proportion of Acadians would also be graduating from secondary schools. Since the expanded facilities could not be provided on a

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Higher Education in New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1962), 94.

² *Ibid.*, 52.

voluntary basis by the religious orders or by the Acadian community, the commission recommended that they be provided by the provincial government. Specifically, it proposed a new institution, the University of Moncton, which would build on the specialized programme then offered at the Université Saint-Joseph with the three then-existing universities offering only the classical courses. The new university, which received its charter in 1963, is thus designed to become the French-language counterpart of the provincial University of New Brunswick at Fredericton.

A central role
in teacher
training

277. The creation of the University of Moncton was a recognition of the special needs of Francophone students at the university level. The new campus is being built, and already the central role of this institution in Acadian education can be seen: it is expected to train the teachers for the French-language elementary and secondary schools. The establishment of the university made possible a predominantly French-language public education from elementary to university level. Its creation drew attention to the incongruity of a secondary school system in which English was still the predominant language of instruction and doubtless accelerated the changes already referred to in the secondary programme.

5. Summary

278. Although many of the changes described are of recent origin and although the minority-language school system is still at an early stage of development, New Brunswick has more explicitly recognized the special educational needs of its Francophone minority than has any other English-language province—with the possible exception of Ontario, which has through its recent legislation shown an increased concern for the needs of its minority.

279. No responsible observer could argue that all the problems of minority-language education in New Brunswick have been solved. The pattern of French-language education is still developing and much remains to be done. The effects of past neglect will take a long time to eradicate, and Acadians, for whom these options are new, may be slow to take advantage of them. Many reforms are still at the planning stage. Much will depend on the acceptance by the Anglophone population of the concept of equal opportunity in education for both language groups. It is clear, however, that the emerging pattern is a radical change from the past and that it represents a coherent and logical plan for French-language education. This pattern is one of two parallel systems, one for Francophone and one for Anglophone students. The apparent enthusiasm for the plan, among both Acadian and Anglophone educators, augurs well for the future.

C. *The Other Atlantic Provinces*

280. There are French-speaking communities in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland. In each province, however, the Francophone population is too small to make a distinct French-language educational régime feasible. A French-language university is out of the question for any of these provinces, for example, because there would not be enough students. The University of Moncton in New Brunswick could conceivably become the centre of higher education for all Francophones in the Atlantic region and even some secondary institutions in New Brunswick might supplement the educational opportunities available to Francophones in other provinces. Interprovincial co-operation in connection with teacher training at the University of Moncton suggests that Acadian education may develop along regional rather than provincial lines in the Atlantic area. At the moment, however, the French-speaking students in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland are part of provincial educational systems primarily designed for English-speaking students.

A regional
situation

281. In all three provinces there are schools in which French is the language of instruction. The educational systems assume that English is the normal language of instruction but concede that children need to be taught in a language they understand if they are to learn anything. The policy of English-language school systems has not been rejected, but it has been modified to allow a period of transition during which French-speaking students learn English. In practice, however, this policy has never been rigorously implemented in any of the provinces, and little effort has been made to solve the difficult pedagogical problems involved in teaching a second language so effectively that Acadian students could study in English without being handicapped. At the same time, these Acadian communities have not fully accepted the policy and have tended to resist the emphasis on English without presenting a clear alternative. The result is that most of the "bilingual" schools operate on the fringe of the provincial systems. Recent reforms of these systems, such as the consolidation of secondary schools and the diversification of the secondary programmes, have accentuated this isolation. Unless these schools can benefit from such reforms, their students will be further deprived of educational opportunities and the Francophone minorities, as well as the provinces as a whole, will be the poorer as a result.

1. *Nova Scotia*

282. English was assumed to be the normal language of instruction in Nova Scotia public schools as far back as Confederation. French

French-language
teaching introduced

apparently continued to be used in schools in Acadian communities, however, and an official policy for "bilingual" schools was adopted soon after the turn of the century. In 1902 a provincial Royal Commission was appointed to report on the schools situated in the French districts of the province. The commissioners reported:

Your Commissioners find that the fundamental error in dealing with the French schools, which must be held responsible for many of their shortcomings, has been the assumption that they must be taught exclusively in English. They find that with startling uniformity and persistency attempts have been made and are being made to educate children from French-speaking homes and with none but French-speaking playmates by means of the English language alone, sometimes from the lips of teachers who can speak nothing but English.¹

The commission recommended a programme for these schools in which all subjects except English would be taught in French for the first few years of school. It also recommended the preparation of a series of French readers. For teachers there was to be a bilingual summer course at the provincial normal school and for the Acadian schools there was to be a special inspector. "Bilingual" schools became formally recognized in Nova Scotia when the government adopted these recommendations.

Instruction in
French—prepara-
tion for an
education

283. It is important to note, however, that these schools were to use French as the language of instruction only for the first few years and were intended ultimately to prepare French-speaking students for an education in English. The commission itself had been established to investigate the best methods of teaching English in these schools, and one of its recommendations was that English be taught from the first grade and that it be the sole language of instruction as soon as the students had learned the language. The bilingual summer course for teachers was designed with this objective in mind. In the words of the *Manual of School Law of 1921*:

A bilingual course of a few weeks shall be given free each year during vacation time in the Provincial Normal College of Truro, to French-speaking teachers to prepare them to teach English colloquially to French pupils coming to school without a knowledge of English; in order that by the time the pupils have completed the first four grades of the public school program, all work of instruction can be carried on effectively thereafter in English.²

The programme of these schools has changed since that time, but not the official purpose. It was conceded by 1939 that Acadian pupils could not master either language adequately in the first four years of school and a new programme of studies introduced a more

¹ *Report of the Acadian Commission*, April 28, 1902; quoted in G. Rawlyk, "Acadian Education in Nova Scotia," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., Appendix A.

² Cited in *Ibid.*, 55.

gradual transition, with English becoming the sole language of instruction in Grade IX.¹ The schools remain bilingual only to the extent that teaching in French is necessary to permit Acadian students to do their school work.

284. Even with this clearly stated objective it may be questioned whether the "bilingual" schools of Nova Scotia are really integrated with the provincial school system. If French-speaking pupils are to reach Grade X with an adequate knowledge of both French and English, and at the same time with an adequate knowledge of all the other subjects on the provincial curriculum, it is obvious that they must be given special attention. There is little evidence to suggest that departmental officials have done much planning or paid much attention to the unique problems of "bilingual" schools. The bilingual summer course for teachers at the normal school and a subsequent course at the Collège Sainte-Anne were abandoned. A decision has recently been made, however, to assist teachers of "bilingual" schools to attend the proposed normal school at the University of Moncton, although even as late as 1959 the department of Education rejected a similar proposal to assist these teachers to attend a French-language university outside the province.² "Bilingual" schools exist in Nova Scotia, but they exist as isolated, neglected, and almost forgotten appendages of the provincial English-language school system. Only the private Collège Sainte-Anne has offered an education in which French was the normal language of instruction. It is revealing that the Acadian schools were never the subject of articles in the Nova Scotian *Education Office Gazette* or the *Journal of Education* between 1954 and 1965, and were never mentioned by the Royal Commission on Provincial Development and Rehabilitation of 1944 or by the Royal Commission on Public School Finance in Nova Scotia of 1954. No doubt the department of Education has been concerned with educational and administrative reforms for the provincial school system, but these reforms apparently did not reach out to include the schools for the Acadians as an integral part of the system.³ The Acadians themselves, lacking the strength of numbers of their compatriots in New Brunswick, have mainly stressed the need for a special course in French for Acadian students, while accepting the assumption that these students should at the same time learn

An isolated
régime

¹ *Ibid.*, 65, 72.

² Nova Scotia Department of Education, *Annual Report, 1959* (Halifax, 1960), 50.

³ The speech from the throne at the opening of the legislature of Nova Scotia on February 22, 1968, repeated the stand taken by the Premier at the Federal-Provincial Conference on constitutional matters held earlier in the month in Ottawa, namely, "that French-speaking Canadians outside of the Province of Quebec should have the same legal rights in education as English-speaking Canadians have in Quebec." It further stated that the legislature would be asked to consider "facilities for teaching children whose mother tongue is French in areas where the number of French-speaking people makes it appropriate to improve facilities."

English.¹ If they are insisting that educational reforms must be compatible with the preservation of their mother tongue, an enlargement of educational opportunities for the Francophone minority in Nova Scotia will certainly involve more than a special *cours de français*.

2. Prince Edward Island

An English-language system

285. In Prince Edward Island there are no "bilingual" schools by law; officially, at least, French-speaking children attend non-confessional public schools where English is the language of instruction. In 1963 the department of Education did approve a special programme prepared by Acadian organizations for the teaching of French, beginning in Grade 1. This programme has been introduced only in schools where the student body is almost entirely Acadian and therefore is restricted to some schools in Prince county and not offered in urban schools. Even in the Acadian areas, the students continue to follow the regular school curriculum, with textbooks and examinations in English, so this French programme is really extra-curricular—an additional burden that teacher and student undertake voluntarily because of the importance they give to the French language. Teachers in these schools may resort to explanations in French when teaching other subjects, but the shortage of Francophone teachers and the constraint of having to prepare for departmental examinations in English doubtless limits even this unofficial use of French.²

3. Newfoundland

Limited opportunities

286. French settlement on the island of Newfoundland goes back to the 17th century and French fishing rights on the Treaty Shore survived until the 20th century. However, the small French settlement had no political guarantees. From the middle of the 19th century, the community was served by an Irish priest and, in the words of the brief submitted to this Commission by Memorial University of Newfoundland:

Thereafter, the Irish influence dominated the church on the West Coast as it had from the beginning in the East. The consequent decline in the use of the French language was hastened by the influx of English-speaking settlers from Nova Scotia and from other parts of Newfoundland. By the time the

¹ Brief of the Association acadienne d'éducation de la Nouvelle-Écosse, and the transcript of Commission hearings for the Société Saint-Pierre du diocèse d'Antigonish.

² The speech from the throne at the opening of the legislature of Prince Edward Island on February 22, 1968, announced that the government "approved in principle the recommendations of the 'B. and B.' report . . . [and] . . . proposes to encourage measures to improve instruction of, and in, the French language in appropriate circumstances."

area came under the direct control of the Newfoundland Government the process of assimilation was well advanced and this process has not been reversed, nor even checked.¹

The educational system of Newfoundland still recognizes sectarian but not linguistic differences. On the island there are no French-language schools. But in the new community of Labrador City on the mainland, there is an English section and a French section in each of the two elementary schools, with the French-speaking students following the course of study prescribed by the province of Quebec. These are the only "bilingual" schools in Newfoundland.²

4. *Summary*

287. The prerequisite for any improvement of the "bilingual" schools in these three Atlantic provinces is clarification of the purpose of these schools. The departments of Education have tended to think of them in the context of the provincial educational systems. Since post-secondary and often secondary education in each province can only be provided in English, these schools were seen as transitional institutions, preparing French-speaking students for an education in English. The French-speaking minority, however, saw this as a policy of assimilation, which doubtless accounts in part for the high dropout rates in Acadian communities. Most Acadian parents concede that their children must have a sound knowledge of English, but not at the cost of losing their mother tongue.

288. Minority-language schools which would ensure a balance between the two languages could meet the aims of both the provincial authorities and the minority groups. But this solution cannot easily be achieved by these provinces acting independently. The retention of a mother tongue in a minority situation requires special programmes and specially trained teachers. To instil a sound knowledge of a second language also requires special programmes, complete with textbooks and audio-visual aids, and bilingual teachers trained to teach these programmes in the classrooms. It is doubtful whether any of these three provinces alone has the resources required for an adequate régime of French-language education. Geographically, however, the region

¹ Brief of Memorial University of Newfoundland, § 23. It should be noted that this process is by no means complete. Of the 3,150 persons in Newfoundland giving French as their mother tongue in the census of 1961, 1,571 live in the census division which includes this west coast area, and only 965 live in Labrador.

² The speech from the throne at the opening of the legislature of Newfoundland on February 21, 1968, announced that consideration was to be given to legislation "designed to give to all Canadian citizens in this province whose mother tongue is French rights equal to those enjoyed by law by Canadians in the Province of Quebec whose mother tongue is English."

is small and many of the problems are similar. By regional co-operation a great deal could be accomplished. The provincial departments of Education are aware of the situation; they have adapted textbooks prepared for French-language schools in other provinces, and have expressed interest in sending prospective bilingual school teachers to the new Teachers' College at the University of Moncton. Closer liaison and joint programmes among these three provinces and with New Brunswick would further reduce the duplication of effort and make it more feasible to prepare programmes designed specifically for the needs of the Francophone minorities in the Atlantic region.

D. The Four Western Provinces

A new and
diversified
society

289. The French-speaking minorities of the four western provinces differ in many ways from those of the other provinces. They naturally share many of the characteristics of their English-speaking western neighbours. They belong to a relatively new society which took shape with the coming of the railway and mass migration to the Prairies, even though some Francophones in the West are descended from fur-traders and settlers of an earlier era. On the Pacific coast, Francophones are often recent arrivals, having moved from the Prairies like many other West Coast residents. As part of a broader migration pattern, the French-speaking Canadians in the West are more widely dispersed and there are no large areas comparable to counties in Ontario and New Brunswick where they form a dominant majority. And at the same time that western Francophones tend to have closer contacts with Anglophones, they are also more remote from the centre of French-speaking society, the province of Quebec.

290. Even more important, western Francophones are only one linguistic or cultural minority among many, and often not the largest minority group. In every English-speaking province from Ontario to the Atlantic—including Newfoundland—the Francophones are by far the largest minority group. In the West they are outnumbered by Canadians of Ukrainian mother tongue in each of the three Prairie provinces, by Canadians of German mother tongue in all four western provinces, and are only slightly more numerous than some groups of other mother tongues. In the West, therefore, seen as a regional group, they appear as part of a larger minority situation. At an early stage in their history the western provinces were faced with the problem of creating common political and social institutions for citizens with a multiplicity of languages and traditions. Almost inevitably English was adopted—often with the warm approval of members of other language groups—as the common language to make such institutions possible and workable.

In the eyes of many westerners, French-speaking Canadians were a minority group just like any other, and were subjected to many of the same pressures.

291. Even in the western provinces, however, the Francophones have received some special recognition. In education, equality of opportunity is still usually interpreted to mean the opportunity to learn English and then compete on equal terms with other English-speaking Canadians. But recognition has been given to French-speaking students and there is no comparable recognition for other language groups. In the three Prairie provinces, for example, there is an official programme of French for these students for one school period each day, beginning in the first grade.

Some official recognition for the French language

1. British Columbia

292. In British Columbia, French-speaking Canadians until very recently received no official recognition in the school system. There are no publicly supported denominational schools and so there has been no concentration of French-speaking children in separate Roman Catholic schools. In addition, the Francophones are predominantly urban, so few public schools have a largely Francophone student body. Since children from French-language homes have almost invariably learned English before going to school, English can be and is the language of instruction from the first grade. There are three private schools financed by French Canadian parishes in the Vancouver area, and the experience in these schools is that the children of French-speaking parents are often more at ease in English than in French. Thus, administrators of the public schools in the province saw no reason to adapt the curriculum or the language of instruction for the benefit of French-speaking students.

293. For many Francophones in the province, the pervasiveness of English is seen as a threat to French even as a second language for their children, and the school system has been the focus of their efforts to preserve their mother tongue at least to that degree. The Francophone community in Vancouver has been strengthened by the arrival of new families from Quebec but it has always had to depend on financial assistance from Quebec and on teaching orders in Quebec to keep the parochial schools open. In 1965 the Fédération canadienne-française de la Colombie-Britannique proposed that the provincial government should in effect replace these parochial schools by public, non-denominational schools in which French should be a language of instruction.¹ In a speech delivered on October 18, 1967, Premier

Efforts to retain a degree of French

¹ Brief presented to the provincial minister of Education by FCFCB, December 14, 1965.

Bennett, while insisting that there would be but one school system in British Columbia, left the way open for school boards to establish classes in which French would be the language of instruction where the demand was sufficient.¹ The Fédération canadienne-française accordingly presented a brief to the Board of School Trustees of Coquitlam on behalf of the Francophone population of Maillardville, requesting a programme of French instruction. The Coquitlam School Board advised the Fédération on March 1, 1968, that their request had been approved, and a request for the necessary authorization forwarded to the minister of Education. The text of the resolution stated:

That the Board wishes authority from the Department to proceed with an experimental project in French language instruction in September 1968, and the acceptance of the normal costs of operating classes as shareable expenses of the Board.

That the Board proposes to establish one or more kindergarten classes to be instructed through the medium of the French language, with the prospect further of establishing a similar program to carry children through the three primary years of elementary school.

That in the course of development of the four-year program such as indicated above, directions for later development will become apparent.

On July 24, 1968, the chairman of the Coquitlam School Board announced that approval had been granted by the provincial government to proceed with this programme, subject to certain conditions. Therefore, it is apparent that, in British Columbia, as elsewhere in Canada, the place of French as a language of instruction in the school is being reappraised.

2. Alberta

Some instruction
in French
permitted

294. There have been "bilingual" schools in Alberta for many years. These schools may be classified as public or separate schools but, whatever the official designation, the student body is usually Roman Catholic and Francophone. The provincial School Act states that "all schools shall be taught in the English language," but this was qualified by a section of the Act allowing a school board to authorize instruction in French under certain conditions. The language usage in these "bilingual" schools was described in the annual report of the provincial department of Education for 1952:

Eight of the Superintendents reported that there are bilingual schools in their divisions in which French is used as the language in which instruction is given during a part of the school day. . . . In schools where all of the pupils in Grade 1 are members of French-speaking families, French is used almost entirely in the teaching of this class in the early part of the school

¹ See report in *The Columbian*, October 19, 1967.

year, and to a decreasing extent in the latter part of the first year. The standard plan for Grade II is that French may be used for teaching for half of the school day. In Grades III to IX the daily period for instruction in French is one hour. In one of the reports [the Superintendent noted] a tendency to exceed these time-limitations, which are as given in the authorized Primary Course in French for Bi-lingual Schools. . . . As the pupils come to the senior grades there are evident benefits to the pupils from their reading, oral work, composition and grammar studies in both English and French. . . . In general, the teachers in the bilingual schools show a very favorable aptitude for the work which they carry on in two languages.¹

295. French thus has a privileged position in Alberta schools compared to other minority languages, since no other language is authorized as a language of instruction. Even French-speaking students, however, are taught mainly in English after two or three years in school, and are expected to compete on equal terms with English-speaking students. In subsequent years, however, a limited amount of French is taught in the classroom with the objective of helping Franco-Albertans retain the use of their mother tongue.

296. This policy has sometimes been criticized. The majority report of the Royal Commission on Education in Alberta in 1959 conceded that "French should (and does) enjoy special status in our public schools generally" but went on to argue that "there are many languages represented in Alberta, some of which have ethnic value and academic status equal to those of French." This report therefore recommended that the special provisions for French to the end of Grade VI should be extended to other minority languages in the province and that the period devoted to this study be reduced to one-half hour per day; after Grade VI students would follow the courses prescribed by the department of Education.² The minority report, on the other hand, argued that French should not be considered as just another minority language because "it is a fact that French is the language of the second culture in Canada," and argued that there was no valid reason for restricting the time allotted to the teaching of French.³

297. The differences of opinion within this commission doubtless reflect differences to be found among citizens of the province. However, the policy of the department of Education continues to give French a special status. A primary course in languages other than English or French has recently been authorized, but French remains the only minority language which can be continued after the early grades. An amendment to the School Act in 1964 confirmed this situation and made it more precise. By this amendment French may be the language of instruction in the first two grades, although English is to be taught

Report of the
Royal Commission
on Education in
Alberta

Increasing
opportunities
for instruction
in French

¹ Alberta Department of Education, *Annual Report, 1952* (Edmonton, 1953), 38-9.

² *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Alberta* (Edmonton, 1959), 125-6.

³ *Ibid.*, 425-7.

for at least one hour a day; in the third grade, teaching in French is permitted for a maximum of two hours a day and in subsequent grades in French courses in literature and grammar, for not more than one hour a day.¹ Provision for this instruction in French is dependent on the approval of local school boards. We were assured by Francophone educators from Alberta who appeared before us at our public hearings that the provincial officials were increasingly sympathetic to the teaching of French in "bilingual" schools. At the same time, these educators agreed that Francophone children in Alberta must learn English.² As in many other provinces, both the departmental officials and the minority appear to be agreed on the need to teach the two languages in the minority-language schools and the differences of opinion that do arise represent differences of emphasis.

An optional
programme

298. The French taught in these schools is of primary importance to the minority because the retention of the mother tongue depends to a large extent on the quality of the French taught in the schools. The original programme was prepared under the initiative of the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta. It covers the 12 years of elementary and secondary school and the annual province-wide *concours de français* conducted by ACFA is still closely associated with it. The organization and the administration of the programme are now the responsibility of a voluntary organization of teachers, the Association des éducateurs bilingues de l'Alberta. The students, too, follow the programme by choice because it is an option and is at a more advanced level than the French programme on the curriculum for the other students of the province. The programme is now officially approved by the provincial department of Education. The importance of the French language to the Francophone minority in Alberta is suggested by the fact that thousands of students participate in the *concours de français* each year.

299. Neither the teachers nor students involved are completely satisfied with this programme, however. The courses of study have placed a strong emphasis on reading and translation skills and it is

¹ Since this writing, an act to amend the School Law in Alberta (Bill 34) was passed on April 4, 1968, providing that: the board of a district or division may by resolution authorize that French be used as a language of instruction in addition to the English language, in its school or schools in Grades I to XII inclusive but in that case

- a) in Grades I and II at least an hour each day shall be devoted to instruction in English
- b) in Grades above II the total period of time in which French is used as a language of instruction shall not exceed 50 per cent of the total period of time devoted to classroom instruction each day, and
- c) the Board and all schools of a district or division using French as a language of instruction pursuant to clause (b) shall comply with any regulation that the lieutenant Governor in Council may make governing the organization and application of the use of French as a language of instruction.

² Transcript of presentation of the brief of the Association des éducateurs bilingues de l'Alberta.

generally agreed that the oral skills require more attention. But the Franco-Albertan associations do not have the resources to prepare new courses of study complete with the audio-visual aids which are essential parts of such a programme.¹ The department of Education, however, has accepted more responsibility for the teaching of French to Francophones since the 1964 amendment to the School Act; a new syllabus, prepared by the department, was introduced for the first two grades in 1965, and extensions of this syllabus are expected.

300. Inevitably there have been difficulties in ensuring that this programme is available to all French-speaking students who wish to follow it. In linguistically mixed communities, separate classes must be organized and bilingual teachers must be provided. At the secondary level especially, these arrangements posed serious problems in the past. The consolidation of school districts into divisions with larger school enrolments has made the provision of separate classes and specialized teachers more feasible in many areas, although this consolidation was at first opposed by some minority spokesmen. Their opposition was based on two criticisms. When divisions were formed, little attention was given to the cultural and linguistic composition of the communities involved, and in some cases it was felt that division boundaries could have been designed to concentrate French-speaking communities in a single division rather than dividing them between two divisions. More serious was the fear that the administrators of the consolidated districts would be unsympathetic to the bilingual programme. In many local communities the majority on the local school board were Francophones, but at the district level the Francophone representatives were in the minority and there was no assurance that the French programme would be provided for French-speaking students.² In practice, however, most divisions have been sympathetic to the requests of the minority and, although instruction in French remains dependent upon the goodwill of the majority, the process of school consolidation does not seem to have seriously restricted the teaching of this programme. In the long run this consolidation may well make it easier to offer the programme, especially at the secondary level.

301. A recent development in the city of Edmonton deserves special mention. The Edmonton Separate School Board groups French-speaking students in separate classes in elementary schools where the number of students makes this possible, and these classes are given instruction

The effects of
school con-
solidation

A successful
experiment in
Edmonton

¹ For appraisals of the programme, see Sister Saint-Sylva, "An Investigation of the Teaching of French in the Bilingual Schools of Alberta and Saskatchewan" (unpublished M. Ed. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1960), and also replies to a questionnaire submitted by AEBA to its members in preparation of its brief to the R.C.B. & B.

² See, for example, reports prepared for the meetings of the Association des commissaires d'écoles catholiques de langue française du Canada, in 1959 and 1960.

in French as authorized by the School Act. At the junior high school level, however, specialization made it impossible to keep these students in the same class, and many could not take the French programme. In 1965 the Board of Trustees, in consultation with the French Canadian Association of Edmonton, decided to rent classroom space in two private French-language schools in order to offer its French-speaking students both the regular junior high school programme in English and the French programme. This arrangement has the additional advantage of providing a school milieu in which French is spoken outside the classroom. Some students now have further to go to school, but the response has been encouraging. The programme seems to be working satisfactorily and may even be extended in the future to the senior high school level. It is felt that this special arrangement gives French-speaking students a better chance to retain and improve their French and so become truly bilingual.

Teacher training

302. The French programme in the public schools of Alberta is naturally dependent on qualified bilingual teachers. In the past, the provincial department of Education took no responsibility for providing language training for these teachers. School boards of "bilingual" schools in the province had to rely on finding teachers who were French-speaking in addition to their formal qualifications. Inevitably most of them came from Francophone communities within the province and, although some had studied French as a subject at the university level, few had any special training in the teaching of French. Since 1963, however, students at the University of Alberta in Edmonton have been allowed to take the first two years of the three-year teacher-training programme at the private French-language Collège Saint-Jean, whose education faculty is affiliated with the university. This programme imposes an additional burden of a year, since certification is possible after two years in the normal programme, but it does at least provide special preparation for the responsibilities of teaching in "bilingual" schools. The graduates of this programme should have a better knowledge of French as well as of methods of teaching French in provincial schools. It is of course too soon to tell whether this training programme can hope to supply the demand for bilingual teachers.

3. Saskatchewan

A limited status for French

303. In Saskatchewan schools the recognition given to the French language is much more limited. The first grade was once considered a transitional year in French-speaking communities, with French being used as the major language of instruction. In 1931, however, the School Act was amended to read that "English shall be the sole lan-

guage of instruction and no language other than English shall be taught during school hours." The same amendment did allow the teaching of French as a subject for one hour a day but was careful to state that "such teaching shall consist of French reading, French grammar and French composition."¹ This created an anomalous situation: French could be taught but presumably it had to be taught in English. After considerable pressure from French-speaking parents, the Act was amended in 1967 to allow French to be "taught or used as the language of instruction" for one hour a day.² This use of French is more restricted than that allowed in Alberta schools, but it does give French a status which no other minority language has in Saskatchewan.

304. As in Alberta, the course of study for this special French programme began as a result of the initiative of French Canadian voluntary organizations. The Association culturelle franco-canadienne de la Saskatchewan and the Association des commissaires d'écoles franco-canadiens developed and administered both the programme and the examinations. The course was an addition to the standard curriculum, although it could be taught during school hours. At one time no academic credit was given for this programme, even at the high school level, although credit was given to those who took the provincial French programme designed for students studying French as a second language. In 1958, however, the provincial government accorded academic recognition to the ACEFC programme at the high school level and has subsequently assumed some of the financial and administrative responsibility for the programme.

An optional
programme

305. This special French programme is permitted by the School Act, but once again it can be offered in a school only with the authorization of the local school board. Again it appeared that the number of students taking the course would be reduced when school districts were consolidated, and Francophone leaders complained that the boundaries of the larger districts were drawn with little regard to ethnic factors. They feared that the Anglophone majorities in the larger districts would show little sympathy for the desire of the Francophone minority to study their language, but a few years of experience have modified these fears. The consolidated schools do provide a predominantly English milieu, in contrast to the smaller "bilingual" schools, but the larger student body also makes it possible to place French-speaking students in separate classes. Although no accurate statistics are available, it is generally agreed that at least

Effects of school
consolidation

¹ The School Act, R.S.S. 1965, c.184, s.209.

² An Act to amend the School Act, S.S. 1967, 15-16 Eliz. II, c.35, s.10. The same amendment also allows a daily half-hour of religious instruction to be "given in a language other than English."

as many students are following the special French programme now as before the consolidation of the school districts.¹

Saskatoon parents
protest

306. The contrast between the position of the French-speaking minorities in Saskatchewan and Alberta is more obvious in the urban centres. The Francophones in Saskatchewan are more widely dispersed throughout the province and there is no significant French-speaking community in any of the cities. In Edmonton, as we have seen, the Separate School Board has made special provisions for Francophone students. In Saskatoon, however, the Separate School Board felt that the number of Francophone students was too small to justify any significant changes in its school administration. The stated policy of the Board was to allow two half-hour periods per week outside of the regular school hours for the teaching of the French programme, with the students' parents paying one-half of the money given to the teacher for teaching the class. A controversy arose when a group of French-speaking parents asked to have the programme taught during school hours, with the Board arguing that the number of students involved did not warrant separate classes in each grade and that to separate these students from the regular classes for the French periods would cause too much disruption in the schools. In the spring of 1965 the French-speaking parents withdrew their children from school for a few days as a protest.

Some minor
changes

307. Partly as a result of this protest the provincial government appointed a committee later in the year to inquire into the existing programmes of French instruction and to assess the educational implications of instruction in languages other than English in the provincial schools. The committee reported in July of 1966.² It argued that restrictions on teaching in languages other than English were originally imposed because of the great need for all children to learn English, but that today this justification is no longer valid because most children entering Grade 1 can speak English. The committee considered that, of the languages other than English, French deserved a special status because of its national and international utility. Nevertheless, the committee did not recommend sweeping changes in the curriculum. It did point out the anomaly of restricting the French programme to the study of reading, grammar, and composition in view of the present emphasis on oral French, and proposed an amendment to the School Act to allow French to be used as a language of instruction during the period set aside for the French programme. It also suggested that the department and the school boards should make a special effort to offer this pro-

¹ Brief of the Association culturelle franco-canadienne de la Saskatchewan et l'Association des commissaires d'écoles franco-canadiens.

² *Report of the Saskatchewan Committee on Instruction in Languages other than English.*

gramme wherever it was administratively feasible. The committee did approve the idea of experimental programmes in which instruction in French might exceed one hour a day, but on the whole its recommendations implied only minor changes in the existing situation. Its report suggests, however, that there is some sympathy for the demands of the Francophone minority in the province and, as we have noted, the provincial government has already adopted the proposal that French be permitted as a language of instruction for one hour a day.¹

308. The French programme in Saskatchewan is further hampered by the lack of training facilities for the teachers. Until recently no course was offered in teaching methods for this programme. One of the briefs presented to the Committee on Language Instruction proposed that a special college of education be established for the training of these teachers, but the committee concluded that the cost and the limited number of teachers involved made this impossible; they felt that newly established courses on the teaching of French at existing institutions would be adequate. The problem still remains of ensuring that the teachers' knowledge of French, and especially of oral French, is adequate for a special French programme. Few people would argue that one or two university courses in French are adequate, even for a teacher who may have followed the special French programme in school as a child.

Lack of teacher-
training facilities

4. *Manitoba*

309. The status of French as a language of instruction in the public schools is changing even more rapidly in Manitoba than in Saskatchewan or Alberta. The situation in Manitoba has differed in part for historical reasons. As we have seen, provincially supported denominational schools disappeared in the 1890's, but after a prolonged controversy the Laurier-Greenway compromise allowed a period of religious instruction at the end of the school day and some instruction in a language other than English in "bilingual" schools. There was no special status for French in this arrangement and, when the provincial government abolished the "bilingual" schools in 1916, all languages of instruction other than English, including French, officially disappeared. Until 1967 the law still gave no special recognition to French; the Public School Act stated that English was to be the language of instruction and other languages might be used only during a period of religious

English the
official language
of instruction

¹The speech from the throne at the opening of the Saskatchewan legislature on February 15, 1968, stated that: "You will be asked to approve legislation permitting the use of French as the language of instruction in the schools of certain areas, where the number of French-speaking students makes such a program economically feasible."

teaching or a period authorized in the programme of studies for the teaching of a second language.¹

Local "under-
standings"

310. In practice the use of French in the schools after 1916 was less restricted than the law implied. The Francophone population was more concentrated than in the other Prairie provinces and in French-speaking communities it was often possible to ignore the law. The local school board, composed of Francophones, could hire a Francophone teacher who would then use French in the classroom. Since the students often understood no other language when they first arrived at school, French was inevitable for the first grades in any case, and the provincial school inspectors tolerated the situation. A community study of the 1930's reported that "recent 'understandings' allow the use of French as the language of instruction during the early years in a few of the closely segregated French Canadian districts."² The appointment of Francophone inspectors for French-speaking areas facilitated such understandings.

311. This situation virtually isolated many rural schools from the provincial school system. Given the desire of a community to preserve the French language and the willingness of departmental officials to overlook irregularities, it is not surprising that French was often used as a language of instruction. Nothing was done, however, to develop a special programme for these schools. Textbooks were in English and the examinations at the end of elementary school had to be written in English. Evidence suggests that for many years only a small proportion of Francophone students from these schools even attempted this final hurdle; certainly, few of them went on to secondary school.

French-language
instruction
declining

312. Over the last two decades the use of French in these schools has steadily declined. Part of the reason is that even teachers of French Canadian origin will have taken their secondary schooling and teacher training in English. These teachers are often more at ease in English than in French, and they have tended to use English as the language of instruction when faced with a classroom situation in which they teach from English textbooks in preparation for examinations in English. The shift to English may also represent the increasing importance given by the parents to advanced education, and the realization that the provincial school system is an English-language system. The isolation of the schools in French-speaking communities has been gradually breaking down, but at the cost of a declining retention of the French mother tongue.

313. French could be taught as a subject in the elementary schools, as well as being used for religious instruction. As in the other Prairie

¹ Public Schools Act, R.S.M. 1954, c.215, s.240 (amended in 1967).

² C. A. Dawson, *Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, VII: Group Settlement—Ethnic Communities of Western Canada* (Toronto, 1936), 371.

provinces, a special course of study to teach French to Francophones was initiated by a voluntary association of educators, the Association d'éducation des Canadiens français du Manitoba. This group is still directly involved with this programme, although today the provincial department of Education has taken over the administrative and financial responsibility. Again, this special French programme can be interpreted to mean that French has had a special status among languages other than English in the provincial school system.

314. The situation in the metropolitan area of Winnipeg is more complicated. Some French-speaking families are to be found in most districts, but most of them live in St. Boniface. Even there the population of French mother tongue no longer constitutes a majority, although they are the largest cultural group—36 per cent in 1961. In the public schools in St. Boniface, the special French programme is normally offered to Francophones. In 1965 the St. Boniface School Board decided to build a "French option" elementary school which would enrol only French-speaking children. The provincial department of Education approved the plan and the by-law received the necessary majority, although there was organized opposition to the plan from a predominantly Anglophone subdivision. The aim was to create a milieu which would foster the use of French while adhering strictly to the legal requirement to use English as the language of instruction.¹ However, for many Francophone parents in the metropolitan area, restrictions on the use of the French mother tongue—added to their concern for religious as well as linguistic and cultural values—have resulted in the resort to private rather than public schools for their children, with the attendant financial sacrifice.

St. Boniface—
a special
situation

315. At the secondary level, the language requirements resemble those for elementary schools. Again, a special advanced French programme can be offered as an alternative to the course designed for learning French as a second language. The consolidation of the secondary schools in Manitoba created no serious complications, because the provincial government paid careful attention to the linguistic factor in establishing the boundaries of the consolidated districts. Most of the French-speaking students are concentrated in certain secondary schools, and the large majority are probably enrolled in the special French programme.

French-language
instruction in
secondary schools

316. One consequence of the fact that the special programme in French was an unofficial administrative arrangement is that little has been done to train teachers specifically for the teaching of French to

Teacher training
in English

¹ See *St. Boniface Courier*, January 19, 1966. The provincial minister of Education subsequently announced that the special French programme was open to all students who wished to take it; *Winnipeg Free Press*, March 15, 1966.

Francophone students. All teacher training is in English and, although the Collège de Saint-Boniface is affiliated with the University of Manitoba, there is no arrangement comparable to that in Edmonton whereby prospective teachers of this programme can pursue part of their studies in French.

The School
Act amended

317. In 1967, an amendment to the provincial School Act¹ significantly changed the status of French in Manitoba schools. French is now officially accepted as a language of instruction, and may be used as such for as much as one-half of the school day. But the exercise of this right is subject to certain restrictions: the school board must first submit a proposal for teaching in French, stating the subjects to be taught and the number of hours involved, and the minister of Education has absolute discretion to approve, modify, or reject the proposal. But even if school boards and the minister of Education show enthusiasm for the increased use of French as a language of instruction, a great deal must be done before the legislation can have any significant effect. Textbooks and teaching aids in French will be required, and trained teachers who can teach other subjects in French must be available. The new amendment suggests that the provincial government intends to extend the use of French in minority-language schools but it is still too early to assess all the implications of the new policy, and it will be some years before the policy can be effectively implemented. It is clear, however, that the way has been opened to provide Franco-Manitobans with greater access to an education in their mother tongue in the public school system.

5. Summary

318. It is difficult to summarize the educational situation for French-speaking Canadians in the four western provinces, because this situation varies from province to province depending on patterns of settlement, the historical background, and the attitude of the Anglophone majority. Nevertheless, the Francophones in the West face common problems in their efforts to preserve their language. In each of the four provinces they are relatively few in number, they are scattered geographically, and they do not constitute the largest minority group. As a result there are few places or institutions in which French is the normal language of communication. In addition, the Anglophone majority has been reluctant to consider the situation of the French-speaking minority in the context of the place of French language and culture in Canada.

319. The aspirations of Francophone westerners are tempered by these facts. The initiatives taken by their voluntary associations illus-

¹ An Act to amend the Public Schools Act (2), S.M. 1966-67, 15-16 Eliz. II, c.49.

trate their determination to preserve their mother tongue and to pass it on to their children, but at the same time they recognize the necessity of a sound grasp of the English language. In other words, the French Canadian organizations assume that the objective of the education régime for Francophones in the West is to graduate bilingual students. Departments of Education have in general responded to this aspiration with an arrangement whereby the French language may be taught in a special course for an hour or so a day in each grade. All other instruction is in English.

320. The consequences of this régime should be obvious. The present system assures an adequate knowledge of the English language and the gradual disappearance of the French language. When English is the dominant language within the school, it is not surprising that English becomes the common language of communication in the school yard. English is so pervasive in all areas of the child's life that it can almost be said that it is becoming the first language of the French Canadian minority in the West.

321. Francophones want their children to learn English but they also want them to speak French. The present system will not graduate students with an adequate knowledge of their mother tongue. One period a day in French is not enough to counteract the linguistic pressures of the community, and improvements in the language courses alone will not achieve this aim. In a study done for the Commission, a comparison was made between the knowledge of French of Grade XI students enrolled in the special French programme in each of the three Prairie provinces and French-speaking students in Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick. In general, the achievement on the tests declined as the distance from Quebec increased.¹ Improvements can certainly be made in the courses of study for the special French programme and in the training of the teachers who teach this programme, but the hours of exposure to French in the classroom must also be greatly increased if future students are to retain the use of their mother tongue, even to the extent of being bilingual.

E. Federally-administered Schools

322. Although the B.N.A. Act states that education is primarily a provincial responsibility, there are exceptional circumstances which involve the federal government directly in providing elementary and secondary education. In the Yukon the schools are operated by the territorial government. In the Northwest Territories, however, schools are a

Three areas
of federal
responsibility

¹ See Appendix II, Table 7.

federal responsibility. The federal government also has a special obligation for the education of Indian and Eskimo children, even if they live within provincial boundaries; it may operate federal schools or it may arrange to have these children attend schools administered by provincial governments or religious organizations. It also assumes responsibility for the education of some dependents of Canadian Armed Forces personnel and again may provide schools or may arrange to have the children attend provincial schools.

323. In each category of federal schools, the total enrolment is relatively small and widely dispersed. The federal government must often rely on provincial systems to provide some educational services, especially at the secondary level, and in some cases this reliance on provincial systems is increased by the deliberate policy of the federal authorities to send children to provincial schools whenever possible.

1. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

324. In 1966 some 60,000 Indian students were attending schools under the supervision of the Indian Affairs branch. This included students in every province except Newfoundland, and in the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. Not only are these students dispersed over a vast area but they differ greatly in their cultural and linguistic background. No single curriculum could be appropriate for such a diverse group of students, even at the elementary level. At the secondary level, the difficulties are compounded by the small number of students involved. Comprehensive Indian high schools, even on a regional basis, are out of the question. The Indian Affairs branch could not operate an effective separate educational system for Indian children even if it wanted to.

Integration into
the provincial
school system

325. In fact, the federal government has no such intention. Its policy is to integrate these students as completely as possible into the existing provincial school systems. Almost half the Indian students are enrolled in provincial schools. At the secondary level the proportion is much higher. The Indian Affairs branch accepts financial responsibility for these students and co-operates with provincial authorities in developing special programmes to meet their cultural and linguistic problems. Federal schools are maintained only when provincial schools do not offer a convenient alternative, and even these schools follow the provincial curricula.

Language use
in Indian schools

326. In provinces where English is the official language of instruction, this means that English is taught to Indian students as their second language. The Indian tongue may be used during a preliminary transitional period, but the transition to English is made as quickly as possible. In Quebec and New Brunswick, Indian bands may choose

between English and French as the language of instruction. English has been widely used in Indian schools, however, partly because many of the first Indian schools were established by Protestant missions.

327. The pattern is different for schools in the Northwest Territories. Here the Northern Administration branch is responsible for providing schools for Indians, Eskimos, and the white population. In 1966 the enrolment was just over 7,000 students, drawn from an area of 1,000,000 square miles. The school programmes are usually based on the curricula of the provinces immediately to the south—Alberta, Manitoba, and Ontario for the Districts of Mackenzie, Keewatin, and Franklin respectively.¹ For Arctic Quebec, where the branch also has schools, the curriculum of the Protestant committee of Quebec is followed. There is a special social studies programme which includes some material on native cultures of the north, and special language programmes have been developed to meet the needs of Indian and Eskimo children. English is the official language of instruction in accordance with the Northwest Territories Ordinance. In recent years this has created some difficulties in Arctic Quebec, where the provincial government argues that French should be the language of instruction. No final decision has been made as to whether the Eskimos of this region should be taught in English or French or in both languages. It is generally agreed that the Eskimos themselves should be consulted, but how the final decision should be arrived at is still not clear.

In the
Northwest
Territories

328. The designation of English as the sole official language of instruction in federal schools in the Northwest Territories runs counter to the Commission's principle of two official languages, and of the moral right of parents to have their children educated in the official language of their choice. Here as elsewhere we believe that parents should have the right to choose French or English as the language of instruction for their children, and that this right should only be qualified by minimum enrolment requirements. Federally administered schools should scrupulously respect the principle of equal partnership, and should provide comparable opportunities for an education in either French or English whenever it is possible to do so.

2. *The Department of National Defence*²

329. The federal government has no legal obligation to provide for the education of the children of Canadian Armed Forces personnel. In practice, however, the department of National Defence must accept

Education
arranged through
local schools

¹ In the Yukon the programmes are based on the British Columbia curriculum.
² Recommendations concerning the education of dependents of Armed Forces personnel will be included in the chapter devoted to the Armed Forces in the Book of our Report dealing with the work world.

some responsibility. As an employer, the department expects service personnel to accept postings to isolated military establishments in Canada or abroad, and married servicemen could not be expected to accept this condition of employment unless there were nearby schools or the costs of sending their children to more distant schools were defrayed. Wherever possible these children are enrolled in a local public school. If there is no public school in the area, or the local school is too small to accommodate the dependents of servicemen, the department usually provides the required educational facilities. Only in exceptional circumstances has the department contributed to the cost of sending dependents away to attend school.

**Financial
arrangements**

330. The financial arrangements differ greatly from one military establishment to another. If the service personnel live off the base and send their children to a local school, there is no problem—the school tax is levied on their residences in the normal way and the department of National Defence is not involved. If the servicemen live in quarters provided on the base, however, their residences are not subject to municipal taxation. In this case the department normally makes a grant to the municipality in lieu of the school property tax, or pays non-resident school fees for the dependents who attend the public school. The department is also prepared to contribute to the construction costs if a local school must be expanded to accommodate the children of service personnel. If a school is provided on the base, the department may pay for its construction and operation or the provincial government may operate the school and charge the department of National Defence an agreed-upon fee for each student. In each case the federal contribution can be seen as a compensation for the exemption of Crown lands from the usual property taxes.¹

**Provincial
curricula
followed**

331. These arrangements ensure that elementary and secondary education is provided for the children of service personnel. It is important to note, however, that in each case the arrangements are made within a provincial context. The department of National Defence does not determine the curricula or the language of instruction of these schools; each school conforms to the curriculum and school regulations of the province in which it is located. Servicemen have access only to the

¹In 1966-7 there were some 90,000 dependents of Armed Forces personnel attending elementary and secondary schools. Of these, 40,000 were attending National Defence schools in Canada and overseas and 10,000 were attending civilian schools on the payment of non-resident school fees. The cost to the federal government was some \$19,000,000, of which \$4,000,000 was recuperated from provincial school grants. (Most of the schools operated in Canada by the department of National Defence are organized as public schools and are therefore entitled to these grants, thereby reducing the cost to the federal government.) The parents of the other 40,000 dependents were not living on National Defence property, and their children attended the local schools at no expense to the department.

kinds of schools available to citizens of that province. This means that children of military personnel will encounter the complications which all children face when they move from one province to another, because the provincial curricula are different. English-speaking children will at least be able to attend schools in which they will be taught in their mother tongue. French-speaking servicemen, on the other hand, may in all likelihood be moved to a province in which English is the only language of instruction. In this case, belonging to the Canadian Armed Forces means that their children will not be educated in their mother tongue and, unless extraordinary measures are taken, they will assimilate to English.

332. Some servicemen have sent their children away to school when local educational facilities were not considered suitable. In the past the department of National Defence has rarely contributed to the heavy additional costs involved. There are precedents for financial assistance to parents who have sent their children to private denominational schools in provinces where the public schools were non-denominational. There are also precedents for special consideration for English-speaking children where the local school was a French-language school and for French-speaking children when the local school was English.¹ These were exceptional cases, however, and even then the financial assistance was limited to an amount equal to the non-resident fee which would normally be paid for a student attending the local public school. The parents paid any costs of transportation, residence, and fees in excess of this amount. In February of 1968 the department announced a new policy. In the future, dependents will have a right to be taught in either French or English, depending on the normal language of the dependents. If education is not provided by the local educational authorities, the department will grant an allowance of up to \$1,300 for tuition fees, board and lodgings, and transportation costs to permit these children to attend a school where these facilities are available. Some complications will arise in the administration of this new policy. It will not always be easy to determine the normal language of the child; if one parent is Anglophone and the other parent is Francophone, for example, both languages may be spoken regularly in the home. In other cases, dependents from a French-speaking home may now be attending English-language schools because there has been no alternative, and again the normal language of the child will not be easy to establish. It is to be hoped that the new regulations will be interpreted liberally in such exceptional cases and that the wishes of the parents will weigh heavily in the final decision. It is clear, however, that this new

A new policy

¹ D. Kwavnick, "The Education of the Dependents of Servicemen in Canada: The Administration of Non-Resident School Fee Payments" (unpublished M.A., thesis, Carleton University, 1964).

policy is a clear recognition by the department of National Defence of the right of dependents of servicemen to receive an education in their mother tongue, and we warmly approve of the initiative which the department has taken.

Outside Canada

333. The arrangements are modified for the dependents of Canadian Armed Forces personnel serving outside Canada. For these children, the federal government accepts the responsibility of providing an education equivalent to a Canadian standard, whether or not the parents live in married quarters provided by the department of National Defence. The department provides English-language schools which use a composite curriculum for the first years, in an attempt to minimize the differences between provincial curricula. From Grade VII on, the Ontario curriculum is followed, because the province of Ontario has agreed to grant the appropriate certificates and diplomas to these pupils. For the French-language schools, the curriculum of the French Catholic schools of Quebec is used. The teachers are brought from Canada and are on leave of absence from their respective school boards.

334. These arrangements depend on the number of children in the area. The number of French-speaking children in any area depends to some extent on the units posted there at any given time, but the average is probably one-quarter of the total number of dependents. Both French- and English-language elementary schools are provided, but there are no French-language secondary schools. French-speaking students may take the special *cours de français* as in the Ontario secondary schools, but otherwise they follow the English-language curriculum. The National Defence schools begin the teaching of the second language in kindergarten and they have experimented with a bilingual elementary school in which both French and English are used as languages of instruction. The opportunities for an education in French, however, are more limited than the opportunities for an education in English. In the smaller Armed Forces establishments abroad, no French-language schools are provided.

The need for
equal opportunity

335. It is obvious that the federal government has a special responsibility for the children of the men of the Canadian Armed Forces, whether at home or abroad. Members of the Forces are transferred according to the needs of the service, and the educational requirements of their children should not be jeopardized because of such transfers. At the present time, the lack of a firmly defined policy—coupled with the reliance on provincial schools—results in a situation whereby schools for which the federal government has a direct responsibility do not offer equal educational opportunities for French-speaking and English-speaking children.

336. Our survey of minority-language schools would be incomplete without some reference to the experience of other countries. Canadians need to be reminded that many countries have large linguistic minorities and that minority-language schools are not a radical innovation. Many of these minorities have distinctive minority-language educational systems, with educational rights carefully defined by legislation. Our recommendations will seem less radical when it is realized that special schools for a linguistic minority are not unprecedented or even unusual.

337. The experience of other countries can also show what educational arrangements have been devised to meet the needs of these linguistic minorities. The problem in each country is unique. Existing arrangements have often evolved over many generations and have been affected by such factors as the history of relations between the major cultural groups within the country, the political and economic influence of the minority, and the relative prestige of the majority and minority languages both within the country and in the broader context of international affairs. Foreign experience, however, does reveal special problems posed by minority education and does suggest possible solutions. To this extent Canada can benefit from the experience of other countries.

338. The most difficult situation occurs where one language group has enough political or economic influence to demand certain language rights, but is insecure because its language has less prestige than that of the other group. Two examples are the Flemings in Belgium and the Afrikaners in South Africa. Each group has been apprehensive about the status of its language and has even feared that its language would disappear. Neither Dutch nor Afrikaans can be considered an

Foreign
experience
suggests solutions

Languages with
less prestige

Language use
in Belgium

international language and the second major language groups in both these countries—the Francophones in Belgium and the Anglophones in South Africa—have been reluctant to learn the majority language. The respective prestige of French in Belgium and English in South Africa was such that these tended to become the languages of communication in the two countries. The Flemings and the Afrikaners produced most of those who spoke both official languages, and in each case it seemed probable for a long time that the more prestigious language would gradually displace the other except in isolated communities or among the less educated classes.

339. In Belgium, however, the Flemish group constitutes a majority and in South Africa a majority of the white population speaks Afrikaans. Each group can thus influence national policies and, in each case, educational policy has been designed to compensate for the disadvantage of the less prestigious language.

340. In Belgium today the Flemish group forms about 60 per cent of the total population.¹ In the 19th century, French was the language of government and of higher education, and the prestige of the French language was so great that many residents of Flanders adopted it as their first language. Flemish nationalism led to the emergence of Dutch as an official language and to measures designed to protect it against the encroachments of the French language. The present pattern in education was established in 1932 when the principle of unilingual regions was adopted. In the Flemish areas, Dutch was to be the language of instruction in all elementary and secondary schools; in the Walloon region, the language of instruction was to be French. Brussels, the capital, predominantly French-speaking but with a large Flemish minority, was to become the centre of a bilingual region, with both French and Dutch schools. Recent legislation has not changed this basic pattern but has tended to make the linguistic divisions even more rigid.²

341. Two aspects of the Belgian language regulations are of special interest. The first concerns the teaching of a second language. At the elementary level in unilingual regions, school authorities are not compelled to include second-language teaching on the programme of studies, although when a second language is taught it is French in the Flemish region and Dutch in the French region. At the secondary level, instruction in a second language usually but not necessarily means instruction in the second official language of the country. In the Brus-

¹ There are no accurate statistics by mother tongue. This approximation is based on regional figures, taken from the Centre de recherche et d'information socio-politiques, "Le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme en Belgique," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 12-3.

² There are special regulations for communes on the linguistic frontier, and communes where German is the majority language.

sels area, however, the teaching of the second official language is mandatory and begins early in the elementary school.

342. The second and more controversial aspect of the Belgian system is the limitation on the right of parents to choose the language of instruction for their children. In the unilingual region there is no choice—all publicly-supported schools offer instruction in the official language of the region. Even in the Brussels region, where there are both French and Dutch schools, the parents still have no choice. The law states that the mother tongue or the ordinary language of the child will determine the school he will attend. To ensure that the law is enforced, the child must present a formal declaration of his language, certified by two inspectors, before he can enrol in a school. These regulations are designed to preserve the Dutch language by ending the not-unusual practice of Flemish parents sending their children to French schools.

343. In South Africa¹ the white population includes two major linguistic groups—the Afrikaans-speaking and the English-speaking. The Afrikaners are the majority group, constituting some 60 per cent of the white population, but, like the Flemish, their language at one time seemed unlikely to survive. In the 19th century, both English and Dutch were used as languages of instruction in the schools of the political units that later united to form South Africa. Dutch, however, was not commonly spoken. Afrikaans had developed as a rural vernacular, derived from Dutch but so simplified and modified in its structure that it could be considered a distinct language. Although Afrikaans was in effect the mother tongue of most Afrikaners, Dutch was officially the language of instruction for many years. The result was that some Afrikaner parents, faced with a choice between English and Dutch as the language of instruction for their children, were inclined to opt for English rather than Dutch.

Language use
in South Africa

344. In 1910, when the Union of South Africa was founded, both English and Dutch were constitutionally established as official languages with equal status. In the discussions that followed, it was generally agreed that English- and Dutch-language schools should be provided, but the debate centred on the question of whether the parents should be free to choose between these schools or whether the language of instruction would be determined by the mother tongue of the child. A parliamentary select committee recommended to the provinces that education in the mother tongue should be compulsory, but the use of Dutch rather than Afrikaans in the schools meant that the regulations were often ignored. Afrikaners, as one of them com-

¹ This and subsequent paragraphs on South Africa are based on W. G. McConkey, "The Bilingual and Bicultural Structure of the White South African Educational System," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

mented, were "the only nation on earth which asserts the lawful claims of its mother tongue while it does not know what its mother tongue is." It was not until 1925 that the constitutional references to Dutch were extended to include Afrikaans, and that Afrikaans almost completely replaced Dutch as the language of instruction. Today, three provinces out of four have adopted the principle that the language of instruction should be the mother tongue of the child; only Natal allows the parents to make a choice.

345. Parallel- and dual-medium schools continued to be contentious issues. Parallel-medium schools offer instruction in English to English-speaking children and in Afrikaans to Afrikaans-speaking children, but other school activities are conducted in either language or both. In dual-medium schools each student receives some of his instruction in English and some in Afrikaans. The advantage claimed for these schools was that they would foster better understanding between the English and Afrikaner students. A large-scale survey in 1938 provided some evidence to support these claims. On the other hand, it was argued that exposure to the second language should wait until the child had a secure grasp of his mother tongue, and that schools should support the cultural as well as the linguistic identity of the child. This meant separate, or single-medium, schools for each language group. The arguments for a distinctive cultural emphasis won out in South Africa and the present policy favours single-medium schools. In all schools, however, the teaching of the second official language is compulsory, beginning in the second or third year of elementary school.

Language use in Switzerland

346. In the two countries we have discussed, the language spoken by the majority seemed threatened because the minority language had more prestige—so legal measures were introduced to protect the majority language. In Switzerland,¹ the official languages are German, French, and Italian. The German-speaking Swiss are the largest linguistic group but, with France and Italy as neighbours, the French-speaking and Italian-speaking Swiss have not feared the disappearance of their languages. Also, unlike the other countries we have discussed, Switzerland is a federation and the tradition of cantonal autonomy has supported minority-language rights. Thus the language policy for education in Switzerland differs considerably from our other examples.

347. The basic Swiss pattern is one of unilingual territories. Of the 25 Swiss cantonal units, 21 are officially unilingual and there the language of instruction in the schools is the language of the canton. The four remaining cantons include linguistic minorities of significant proportions. The territorial principle is still applied, however, so that

¹ The information on Switzerland is based on Peter Welsh, "Plurilingualism in Switzerland," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

even the bilingual cantons are composed mainly of unilingual districts of one official language or another. Inevitably there are a few mixed communes and there, if two language groups are both significant in size or influence, the usual pattern is to have two distinct school systems. This compromise is unusual, however, and most Swiss parents must send their children to schools in which the language of instruction is the language of the majority in the community or canton. Even the universities, in conformity with the territorial principle, are predominantly unilingual—with the exception of Fribourg, situated in a bilingual canton. In the mixed cantons the study of a second official language is compulsory, beginning in or after the fifth year; in the unilingual cantons it may be optional at the elementary level, but is obligatory at the secondary level.

348. The apparent rigidity of the territorial principle is mitigated by special circumstances. Each language group tends to be concentrated geographically, so that minorities within a canton are usually small. Distances are not great and, if parents insist on having their children taught in their mother tongue, the appropriate schools are often within commuting distance. It may be surmised also that the reputation of each of the official languages is such that the parents belonging to a minority group do not find it difficult to accept the idea of having their children taught in the other language.

349. Finland¹ differs sharply from the other countries discussed because the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland constitutes less than 10 per cent of the total population. This minority was once powerful economically and politically, and the prestige of the Swedish language reflected this. Today, however, Finnish is the dominant language and a knowledge of Finnish is accepted by the minority as virtually essential for most occupations. Swedish-speaking Finns have thus accepted the necessity of learning Finnish, although at the same time they have made great efforts to preserve their mother tongue. The educational system in Finland reflects this situation: Swedish-language schools are provided for the minority, but the graduates of these schools are usually fluently bilingual.

Language use
in Finland

350. At the elementary level, the right of the minority to Swedish-language schools is determined by the number of Swedish-speaking students in the school district. Elementary schools in Finland are often small schools. Communes must provide an elementary school when there are at least 27 pupils in a district and the school can only be closed if the number of pupils falls below 15 for three consecutive years. As a special consideration for the linguistic minority in any district, minority schools, whether Finnish or Swedish, must be pro-

¹The material on Finland is based on T. Miljan, "Bilingualism in Finland," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

vided for a minimum of 18 pupils and the school must remain open unless the enrolment drops below 12. All elementary schools are controlled and supervised by the state but within the board of Education there are separate departments for Finnish and Swedish schools. In all schools, instruction in the second language is compulsory from the fifth grade.

351. There is more diversity at the secondary level, where there are different types of schools, but again there are Swedish-language schools for the minority, administered by the Swedish department. In these schools, Finnish is still included in the curriculum, although as many as three foreign languages may be introduced. Instruction in Swedish is also offered at the university level. There is a Swedish-language university at Åbo. At the State University of Helsinki, certain chairs are designated as Swedish chairs and the professors who hold these chairs teach in Swedish. Students cannot expect to take all their undergraduate courses in Swedish at this university, but they may write all tests and examinations in Swedish.

352. In conclusion, probably the most striking fact to many North American observers is the responsibility accepted by many governments of providing the minority with its own school system. The rights of the minority differ from one country to the next and the structures of the school systems vary, but the policy of two or more school systems is firmly established.

353. The basis on which minority-language schools are provided is of special relevance to the Canadian situation. In South Africa and Finland the two languages of instruction are provided wherever there are students of both language groups. In Switzerland the language of instruction is based on territoriality; the country is divided into a number of unilingual districts. Belgium has a combination of these two approaches. It has unilingual regions and it also has a bilingual region where both Dutch- and French-language schools exist. The territorial principle is less complicated; in each region there is only one public school system. It is a logical approach if each language group is concentrated in definable geographic areas. Where the population is mixed, or even where there are scattered enclaves of minority groups, it may be considered less satisfactory because some children will be forced to study in a language other than their mother tongue. The provision of minority-language schools where enrolment makes this feasible allows for greater flexibility in meeting the needs of a diverse population, although the administrative problems of two separate school systems in one community are more complex.

354. Our examples also illustrate how some countries with more than one official language have dealt with the question of second-

language teaching. In South Africa, where bilingualism is accepted as a public policy, the teaching of the second language is compulsory and begins at an early age in the elementary school. In Switzerland, where citizens may be more conscious of the personal advantages of learning a second language, the teaching of a second official language is compulsory in secondary schools, but begins later in the elementary programme. In Belgium, where tension between the language groups is more pronounced, the second language taught in the unilingual areas is usually but not necessarily the second official language, but in the bilingual region it is a compulsory subject from the elementary level.

355. In Book I, we refused to recommend the wholesale adoption of either the territorial or personality principles for a Canadian linguistic régime; similarly, in this case, we would consider it undesirable to recommend the educational system that any of these countries employs for its official-language minority. It seems obvious to us that some of the practices of foreign countries just described—such as the legal restrictions on the right of Belgian parents to choose the language in which their children are to be taught, or the minute precision of Finland in setting up and maintaining minority schools—would be solutions that few Canadians would accept. Furthermore, while the Canadian official-language minority speaks a language of international stature, it is still not the common language of communication in North America. This is why, in Canada, the Anglophones have learned French much less often than the Francophones have learned English. At the same time, English has been seen by Canada's Francophones as a menace to their language. There is another factor to consider: in contradistinction to Belgium and South Africa, where the Flemings and the Afrikaners are majority groups, the French-language minority in Canada is strictly speaking a national minority—and has, in fact, a double minority status in the context of North America. Canada is a North American country with distinctive political traditions and political institutions. Its educational systems reflect social attitudes and aspirations which must be respected. We can learn much from the experience of these other countries, but inevitably our recommendations must be formulated in terms of the Canadian context. Minority-language schools in Canada must be appropriate to the Canadian situation.

Relevance
to the
Canadian
situation

356. In Chapter I we proposed broad objectives for schools for the Francophone and Anglophone minorities in Canada. The chief objective is to provide equal opportunities for both official-language groups to maintain and enjoy their language and their cultural heritage. At the same time, the education provided by these schools should ensure an adequate knowledge of the majority language and culture, with academic standards and educational opportunities equivalent to those of the majority-language schools in the same province. These objectives are not radical. Many of the briefs we received advocated similar objectives, and minority leaders as well as many educational authorities are generally agreed that policies should accord with these aims. Nonetheless, our description of minority education in the Canadian provinces today has shown that every province to some extent falls short of achieving these objectives. In the English-speaking provinces, the French-speaking minorities have been fitted into English-language school systems with too little regard for the preservation of the French mother tongue. Where French-language or "bilingual" schools have been permitted, the educational opportunities they provide are restricted. In Quebec, where the English-speaking minority has been free to develop its own system, the emphasis on the majority language of the province has been inadequate.

357. It is obvious that major changes will be required if the gap between the objectives outlined above and the actual practice is to be bridged. Fundamentally, in the English-speaking provinces, the reluctance to accept the right of French-speaking Canadians to an education in the French language accounts for the present inadequacies of French-language education. In recent years there has been an increasing recognition of the need to provide greater opportunities

Objectives

Major changes
required

for instruction in the French language, and many reforms have been proposed. In most cases these proposals will fall short of achieving the goal we have set—a balance between cultural and academic aims to which both the provincial authorities and the minority-language groups fully subscribe.

358. For the purpose of discussing education, the official-language minority groups in Canada can be classified in two broad categories. The first category includes the minority groups which form a significant proportion of the total population of a region. These groups are numerous enough to justify the full range of elementary and secondary schools, with programmes designed to meet their special needs. The bilingual districts recommended in Book I encompass these large blocs of the Anglophone minority in Quebec and the Francophone minorities in the other provinces. The second category includes the members of these minority groups who live outside the bilingual districts. These amount to less than 10 per cent of the official-language minorities, dispersed from Newfoundland to British Columbia. But they are not a negligible group, and the school can be a more important factor in preserving language for them than for members of the first category. Educational arrangements will of necessity be different for them than for residents of bilingual districts. Chapter VIII includes our recommendations concerning minority-language education outside bilingual districts.

Recommendation 1

359. In this chapter we are concerned with official-language minority schools in bilingual districts. Our first recommendation follows logically from the principle of the moral right of Canadian parents to have their children educated in the official language of their choice and from the definition of the bilingual districts (which ensures that the number of students affected will justify the provision of minority-language schools). **We recommend that public education be provided in each of the official minority languages at both the elementary and secondary levels in the bilingual districts.**

360. This recommendation means that there will be education in the languages of both the minority and majority in the bilingual districts. In many cases there will be enough students to warrant separate school buildings, and transportation facilities will make it possible for each secondary school to serve a large area. In some communities it may be necessary to have minority- and majority-language classes in the same school, with both groups sharing such facilities as the auditorium, the laboratory, and the machine shop. Even in these cases, however, the students will attend separate classes, and the education provided will be no different from that in the schools attended only by the minority.

361. This recommendation will obviously require some changes in the administrative structures at both the departmental and local levels, as well as special arrangements for training teachers and providing special services. But before we can discuss the educational system as a whole we must first describe the minority-language schools as we envisage them. Only then can we discuss the structures and services such schools will require.

A. The Language of Instruction

362. The nature of the minority-language schools will be determined to a large degree by the language of instruction used in the classroom. As we have pointed out in Book I of the Commission's *Report*, language is more than a means of communication; it is also an essential form of cultural expression affecting the structure and quality of the various elements which characterize a cultural group. If minority-language schools are to promote the linguistic and cultural development of the minority, it is not enough to teach their language as a subject. To communicate effectively, students must learn to use their language in a variety of situations and for a variety of subjects. If they are to develop a capacity for sophisticated analysis and expression, they must develop the modes of thought to which the language gives form. The precise and sensitive command of his language is essential to the development of the child's intellect.

Importance of instruction in mother tongue

363. The emphasis on learning the mother tongue is important for any child, but it is even more important for members of a minority-language group. Almost by definition, these children will have many contacts with the majority language outside the home. Even in areas where the provincial minority may constitute a local majority, the other language is heard on the street, read in newspapers, and brought into the home by radio and television. Under these circumstances the school must compensate for the linguistic environment of the child. **We recommend that the normal language of instruction in schools for the official minority-language group in bilingual districts be the mother tongue.**

Recommendation 2

364. Instruction by means of the minority language is essential if the objectives of minority education are to be attained. This recommendation involves no change for the English-language schools in Quebec, or for the French-language schools in Ontario, following the recent legislation. It will increase the use of French at the secondary level in New Brunswick and, even at the elementary level, in the bilingual districts in Nova Scotia and Manitoba, for example. As we have seen, however, these provinces have all approved wider use of French

as a language of instruction in minority-language schools in recent years and this recommendation will involve no radical change of policy.

Teaching aids

365. The use of the minority language as the language of instruction involves more than speaking that language in the classroom. Textbooks and other teaching aids must be provided in the same language, and special care must be taken in the preparation of these aids. Wherever possible they should be written in the original language and from the point of view of the minority culture. In some cases they will have to be adapted from those used in the majority-language schools of the province, but it is important that they be carefully adapted. Translation is an art—a good translator must re-think the ideas in the second language in order to present them effectively. A literal translation would defeat the purpose of teaching the child to assimilate the modes of thought of the mother tongue.

366. This recommendation does not exclude some teaching in the majority language. A knowledge of the majority language is an asset and may even be a necessity for the graduates of the minority-language schools. The majority language will be taught as a subject and it may also be desirable to use it as a medium for teaching another subject. This would be justified only when the student's grasp of his mother tongue was secure. Such a situation may occur among Francophone students who live in communities where they have little contact with English in their daily life, and in parts of Quebec where Anglophone students may seldom come in contact with French. The decision to teach another subject in the majority language must be based on an assessment of the students' grasp of the mother tongue. It should be made by local authorities in consultation with minority-language school inspectors, and should require the consent of the parents.

B. The Teaching of the Official Minority Language as a Subject

Recommendation 3

367. The mother tongue will naturally have a prominent place in the curriculum of the minority-language schools. Indeed, English is already taught from the first grade in the minority-language schools of Quebec, just as French is taught from the first grade in the minority-language or "bilingual" schools of the other provinces. **We recommend that the mother tongue be taught as a subject in all grades and all programmes of the official-language minority schools.**

Planned sequence

368. However, we wish to draw attention to the need for a carefully planned and prepared course of study extending from the first grade to the end of secondary school. This development of a suitable sequence of courses requires the co-operation of linguists and teachers and involves the production of audio-visual aids as well as readers

and textbooks. It will not be possible for minority-language schools in English-speaking provinces to adapt the French-language programme in Quebec. This programme would be unsuitable because of the differences in curricula and because of the different needs of the Franco-phone minorities. Special programmes already introduced in Ontario and New Brunswick will require further development in such areas as the provision of audio-visual aids integrated into all levels of the programme. Available resources would likely be best utilized if the departments of Education of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and of Ontario and Manitoba co-operated in the development of suitable programmes, complete with audio-visual aids. The language research council proposed later in this Book will facilitate this co-operation, and will help to make such resources available to the other provinces. This council could also assist in preparing any changes which might be introduced in the course of study for English in the minority-language schools of Quebec.

369. The adequate teaching of the mother tongue in these minority-language schools involves much more than the teaching of the language itself. The reading of appropriate literature should also be included in the programme. Exposure to great literature is one means of developing a mastery of the language, and it is also the most effective way of acquainting children with their cultural heritage. The quality of the programme for teaching the maternal language in minority-language schools is thus of the utmost importance.

C. The Teaching of the Majority Language as a Subject

370. The need to teach the majority language in minority-language schools is recognized by provincial authorities and minority spokesmen alike. Most graduates of these schools will establish their homes within their own province, and a knowledge of the majority language of the province is an invaluable asset. In Quebec, French is already a compulsory subject from Grade III in the Protestant English-language schools and from Grade IV in the Roman Catholic English-language schools, and many school boards have exercised the option permitting them to introduce it in the first grade. In the minority-language schools of the other provinces, English is a compulsory subject starting in Grade I. The question, therefore, is not whether the majority language should be taught, but rather when the study of the majority language should begin.

371. Experts are not agreed on whether a second language should be introduced in the first grade of school. Some argue that an early beginning is desirable and that, for physiological and psychological

Recommendation 4

reasons, children in the early years of elementary school are ideally equipped for second-language learning. Other experts argue that there is a danger of language interference and that the child may confuse the structures and modes of thought of the two languages. Caution seems the course of wisdom when experts disagree. There can be little doubt that language interference, if it is a problem, will be more serious for children who do not have a sound grasp of their mother tongue when they arrive at school. This is more likely to be the case with children from the French-language group. Many factors, individual or environmental, might account for this linguistic weakness, but the environment of a bilingual community is likely to be one such factor. Since many students of the minority-language schools will be living in bilingual communities where the mother tongue is under stress, we do not insist on the necessity to begin the study of the second language in these schools in the first grade. The majority language might not be introduced until the third year in such areas. It should be taught in all years of the secondary programmes. **We recommend that the majority language be taught as a subject in all programmes offered in official-language minority schools.**

372. Special courses of study will again be required for the teaching of the majority language. Part 2 of this Book will deal with second-language teaching, but certain aspects of second-language teaching for the minority should be underlined here. In many provinces the Francophone students begin with conversational English in the first year but are soon following the course of study originally prepared for the teaching of English to Anglophones. This practice results in a definite hardship for these students. Special courses of study should be prepared, complete with textbooks and teaching aids, designed for the linguistic needs of the minority-language students. The aim should be a high level of achievement in the four language skills—listening, speaking, reading, and writing. One of the aims of teaching English to Anglophones and French to Francophones is to expose them to the literature in the language and so acquaint them with their cultural heritage. For the teaching of these languages to the minorities as a second language, less time should be spent on the literature and more time on the teaching of the language itself.

Contact with the
majority language

373. It is legitimate to ask whether these recommendations will ensure that the students acquire an adequate knowledge of the majority language. We have proposed that the students' mother tongue will be the normal language of instruction and that the language of the majority will normally be taught only as a subject. Canadians who studied a second language in school, but now find themselves speechless and even wordless when they meet a compatriot for whom this language is the

mother tongue, are likely to be sceptical about a curriculum which devotes too little attention to the second language. This personal experience, however, is often based on teaching methods which emphasized reading and translation almost as if a dead language were being taught. The recent emphasis on oral expression and the use of audio-visual aids marks a definite improvement in language learning. Much more significant, however, is the fact that the minority-language students come from an unusual language environment. Successful language learning depends upon the desire to learn and the opportunity to practise. Minority-language students are more likely to recognize that the second language is useful, that it is more than a cultural acquisition, because they are likely to see it and hear it every day. They also have opportunities to use the language they are learning. The formal training in school is only one element in learning the majority language for most minority-language students.

374. This conclusion is supported to some extent by our research. Two tests of English comprehension—a listening test and a reading test—were administered to Ontario students who had taken all of their elementary and secondary education in French except for their study of English as a subject.¹ These students were tested shortly after registering in their first year at the University of Ottawa and Laurentian University. The same tests were given to a Grade XII class for which English was the mother tongue, a class which provincial tests had shown to be very close to the provincial norm in this subject. The average test scores of the Anglophones were slightly higher, but the difference was surprisingly small.² Other evidence suggests, however, that English-speaking students in Quebec were less successful in learning French when it was taught only as a subject.³ Since the learning situation was similar, it would appear that these students were less convinced of the importance of knowing the majority language. This attitude may be changing. In any case, the Commission believes that there should be the same incentive for English-speaking students in the minority-language schools in Quebec to learn the French language as for the French-speaking students in the other provinces to learn English. The English-speaking minority has little reason to be apprehensive about the retention of its mother tongue. The problem is rather to overcome the gap in communication which has developed

¹ Most of these students had attended "bilingual" schools to Grade x and had then continued their education in private schools.

² R. Sirkis, "How Well do French Canadian Students Know English?" a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 34. The results for the Anglophone and Francophone students on the listening test were 90.5 and 85.1 respectively; on the reading test, 79.9 and 76.0.

³ L.-P. Valiquet, "French-language Proficiency at University Entrance," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 22.

between the two language communities. We suggest, therefore, that in the English-language minority schools the use of French might well be extended as a language of instruction for other subjects in addition to learning it directly as a second language.

D. Outline of the Curriculum in Official-language Minority Schools

Adapting the
teaching of
other subjects

375. The question of the teaching of the mother tongue and the other official language is, of course, of primary importance in the programmes of minority-language schools. However, there is also the question of how the teaching of other subjects needs to be adapted to meet the special requirements of the students in minority-language schools.

376. At present the minority-language schools generally follow the same curriculum as the majority-language schools in the province, apart from the special course of study for the maternal language. The English-language schools in Quebec are an exception to this rule, but even there the Parent Commission has recommended a similar curriculum for all provincial schools.

A common
provincial
curriculum

377. The major advantage of this arrangement is that it helps to ensure equivalent academic standards in all schools in the province and equivalent educational opportunities for all students in the province. Each province has developed courses of study which seem most appropriate for each grade, and there is nothing to suggest that Anglophone and Francophone students should learn mathematical or scientific principles at different ages or in a different sequence. The language of instruction should differ, but not the general content of the course. With all students following basically the same course of study, uniform academic objectives will be established for all schools in the province, and when courses are revised or innovations introduced, minority- as well as majority-language schools will benefit from the changes. At the secondary level, students of the minority-language group will have the same choice of programmes and the same options. A common curriculum is necessary if minority-language students are to receive an equivalent to the education provided for the provincial majority.

378. However, we could consider the possibility of a uniform curriculum for all French-language minority schools in Canada, with these schools organized on a national basis by the federal government instead of the provincial governments. Apart from the constitutional problems involved, such a system would likely be unsuccessful because it would not reflect Canadian regional diversity. Geography imposes special arrangements for consolidating schools. The provincial economy influences the technical and commercial programmes offered. A federal

system so centralized would inevitably duplicate the technical knowledge and local experience already developed, and the apparent advantages of uniformity would be lost.

379. Provincial departments of Education are well aware of the possible benefits of uniform curricula and uniform standards for English-language schools. The idea has long been discussed and a Canadian Council of Ministers of Education has recently been established to work towards greater co-ordination of provincial policies on a consultative basis. Past difficulties in achieving co-ordination reflect the regional diversities which provincial systems cannot ignore. At the same time, these present efforts at co-ordination should minimize the differences between provincial curricula, and this will affect minority- as well as majority-language schools.

380. Therefore, we have concluded that the objectives of high academic standards and broad educational opportunities in minority-language schools can best be achieved within a provincial context. These objectives depend on similar programmes in all the schools in the province, whatever the language of instruction may be. **We recommend that the curricula for the official-language minority schools follow the broad outlines of the curricula for the majority-language schools in each province.**

Recommendation 5

381. This recommendation does not mean that the course of study for each subject should always be the same. The cultural background of the minority is different, and this difference will have a bearing on the most effective way of teaching some subjects. Mathematics and science can be taught in the same way to all students. But we have already noted that special courses need to be developed for the teaching of the first and second languages, and that the teaching of the first language must develop the student's awareness of his cultural heritage.

382. Social studies present a different kind of problem. In broad outline there need be no distinction between minority- and majority-language schools—all students in the province can study geography or history in the same sequence. But the cultural differences of the students cannot be ignored. The courses in social studies will sometimes have to be adapted to meet the special circumstances of the minority-language students. Courses of study are usually designed in accordance with the principle that the student should proceed from the known to the unknown. In geography, for example, students usually begin by studying the geography of their own district and then expand their horizons. Social studies in general begin with a study of the students' own society and then broaden out to a study of other societies. Minority-language students belong to a separate cultural group and they must be introduced to their own society and its place within

Recommendation 6

the larger provincial and national structure. This approach is based on sound pedagogical principles and it is also consistent with the objective of making the minority-language students aware of their own cultural heritage. The adaptations which will be made from the social studies courses designed for the majority will thus be consistent with both the academic and cultural objectives of the minority-language schools. **We recommend that the provincial social studies programmes for official-language minority schools be suited to the special circumstances of students attending these schools.**

383. Less than 10 per cent of the Anglophone and Francophone minorities live outside the bilingual districts, but these people still have the moral right to have their children educated in their mother tongue. Where minority populations are small, the double objective of fostering the linguistic and cultural heritage of the minority and of ensuring equivalent academic standards and educational opportunities is still valid. But outside the bilingual districts, the means of achieving these objectives will depend largely on the number of students involved. The special educational facilities which can and should be provided will vary according to the local situation. It may not be possible to have separate schools at the elementary and secondary levels. It would not be feasible to provide even an academic secondary school programme for two or three students and, even if the numbers might justify one stream at this level, it would not be desirable if it meant that minority-language students would be prevented or hindered from choosing another stream more appropriate to their interests and abilities.

Rights of small
minority groups

384. The rights of the minority must nonetheless be clearly established. Local school boards have often been reluctant to provide special facilities for the minority. A school board may have little sympathy or little understanding of the linguistic and cultural concerns of the minority group, and it is not likely to welcome any disruption of the existing system. The minority, on the other hand, may not fully appreciate the difficulties involved in providing special facilities. Regulations are required which will state explicitly the conditions under which the minority-language group in any community is entitled to special educational facilities and which will ensure that local school

Recommendation 7

boards will provide these facilities. **We recommend that in each province the department of Education shall formally state the requirements and procedures by which an official-language minority living outside the bilingual districts can establish its right to special educational facilities.**

385. This will eliminate much of the confusion and even the controversy which can often develop at the local level because the rights of the minority have not been clearly defined. The detailed regulations can be drafted only by provincial officials. The elementary and secondary school systems vary from province to province and in each case the regulations must relate directly to the existing system—and must be subject to change when the system is modified. In every province, however, the purpose should be to fulfil the cultural and linguistic aspirations of the minority so far as is feasible, considering the number of children involved and the variety of educational opportunities they require. Given the same number of students, the same consideration should be possible, whether the students belong to the English-speaking minority in Quebec or to the French-speaking minorities in the other provinces. The following sections of this chapter will suggest what seem to us to be reasonable criteria on which to base the regulations in each province.

A. The Secondary Level

386. Whenever possible, secondary schools for the minority-language group outside the bilingual districts should be patterned on those proposed for the bilingual districts, where the normal language of instruction is the mother tongue. For children living in communities outside the bilingual districts, the majority language will likely be the normal language of communication in many situations. The school must compensate for this dominance of the competing language if these children are to develop the effective use of their mother tongue. A sound knowledge of the second language is clearly essential, but because of its dominance in the community it will not be necessary to devote any more time to it than in the schools of the bilingual districts.

Enrolment

387. When will separate secondary schools be feasible for the minorities living outside the bilingual districts? The optimum enrolment in a composite high school cannot be established. The average enrolment in urban secondary schools has steadily increased during the last decade and schools with 1,200 to 1,500 students are quite common. On the other hand, in spite of the consolidation of rural high schools, there are secondary schools in most provinces with fewer than 200 students. Thus, any figure we might suggest as the minimum

enrolment for a minority-language secondary school would be an arbitrary figure. In establishing this minimum enrolment, provincial authorities will need to be conscious of the extreme importance of such a school for the minority-language group. This should be a significant factor in arriving at a figure. Provided the school can offer the basic programmes, a figure considerably below what might normally be thought of as the optimum enrolment for a secondary school could be accepted. Although such a school would not be able to offer the same number of optional courses within the basic programmes, the advantages both in cultural and academic terms would more than compensate for this disadvantage.

388. In many communities there will not be enough students to warrant a separate high school but it will still be possible to provide some special facilities for the minority-language students. Even if the number of students falls below an established provincial minimum, they may be offered the full curriculum of a minority-language school by sharing the physical facilities of a school building with students following the majority curriculum.

Shared facilities

389. These schools with parallel curricula will require a bilingual principal and an administration that can maintain an equitable balance between the two language groups. Such schools operate in other countries and there is no reason to believe that they would pose excessive demands on the capacities of Canadian educators.

390. If there are too few students to justify a parallel-curriculum school, some teaching in the mother tongue will still be possible. Francophone students are already grouped together in the secondary schools in many English-speaking provinces where the *cours de français* can be substituted for the French course taught to Anglophone students. The same grouping will often be possible for other subjects, especially those subjects which most students must take. These students will thus follow what may be described as a bilingual programme, taking some courses in their mother tongue and others in their second language. It is likely that more and more of their courses will be offered only in the majority language as they reach the senior years of secondary school, because streaming will make it more difficult to group the minority-language students together.

Special classes

391. The provision of a wide range of facilities for the students of the minority-language group at the secondary level will be less complicated in practice than our description suggests. The Francophone and Anglophone minorities outside the bilingual districts are widely scattered in Canada, but most of them are concentrated in a few areas of each province. The total number of schools affected will be small. In most provinces the courses of study and teaching aids will already be

available because they will be in use in schools in bilingual districts. Some minor adaptations may be necessary for those provinces which have no bilingual districts. Teachers who speak the minority language will also be required, of course, and the problem of supplying teachers will be discussed in Chapter XI.

Need for definite
and generous
regulations

392. We have avoided making specific recommendations for the special educational facilities to be provided for minority-language students living outside the bilingual school districts. Conditions vary from one provincial school system to another, and local circumstances will inevitably affect policies. However, we believe that some instruction in the maternal tongue is possible even when there are only a few such students attending a secondary school. Two points must be emphasized. First, provincial regulations should establish the minimum requirements for minority-language education and the procedures to ensure that the appropriate facilities are provided. Unless these regulations are specific, the minority in some communities may receive too little consideration from the local authorities. Secondly, these regulations should be as generous as possible. As we said in Book I, equality for the two cultural groups requires the maximum rather than the minimum of instruction in the mother tongue of the minority group. It should be remembered that special consideration for its linguistic and cultural objectives will help to win the confidence of the minority in the provincial education system and will thus help to achieve the academic objectives of the system.

B. The Elementary Level

393. Elementary schools have smaller enrolments and less specialized programmes than the average secondary school. This makes it easier to make special arrangements for minority-language students. Exposure to the mother tongue is probably even more important for elementary school students because, for many of them, the pressure of the majority language will increase with age. Moreover, the language background of these children when they begin school makes it essential that their mother tongue should be used in school, especially in the early years. Again, however, we prefer to couch our suggestions in general terms, leaving it to the provincial authorities to transpose them into specific recommendations.

Separate
instruction

394. Whenever possible, minority-language students should attend separate elementary schools. If there are too few students for a separate school, a parallel-curriculum school might be feasible. If there are 20 or more minority-language students in one grade, pedagogical reasons alone suggest that they should be taught in a separate class, and since

the number of minority-language students is likely to be much the same in all elementary grades of the same school, students could follow the minority-language school curriculum throughout their elementary school. A kindergarten in the minority language should also be provided whenever feasible, because these students will benefit from any opportunity to strengthen their command of their first language.

395. The curriculum should be the curriculum of the minority-language schools in the bilingual districts of the province. The milieu itself—and often the necessity of studying some subjects in the majority language at the secondary level—will ensure exposure to the second language and the teaching of the second language in the classroom will supplement this exposure. These students will have to become competently bilingual but, to achieve this, the emphasis in the elementary school should be on the mother tongue.

Curriculum

C. Major Urban Centres

396. The number of minority-language students in a school will be determined to some extent by the size of the region served by the school. A consolidated rural school will not have a higher proportion of minority-language students than the schools which it superseded, but it will concentrate these students in one school and so make special facilities more feasible. In urban areas there may be enough minority-language students to justify special facilities, but they may be scattered among a number of schools of both the elementary and secondary levels. In some metropolitan areas special arrangements may be required to bring these students together in one or more schools, in order to provide them with minority-language education.

397. Minority-language schools have an important role to play in metropolitan areas. English-language schools exist in the major cities of Quebec but there are few cities in the other provinces with public French-language schools. Many of these cities have an appreciable number of Francophone citizens, and the movement of population to the cities suggests that the numbers will grow. Much of this migration is from the rural areas of the same province and at the moment Franco-Ontarians who move to Toronto, or Acadians in New Brunswick who move to Saint John, may be sacrificing the opportunity to have their children taught in French. Interprovincial migration is also an important factor. French-speaking Canadians who move from Quebec to another province are likely to move to a metropolitan area. There is little doubt that their mobility is reduced, because at present they cannot have their children educated in French. This is especially true of parents who might be transferred for only a few years for business

Importance of
urban minority
schools

reasons. French-language schools in urban centres in the English-speaking provinces would ease the difficulties of Francophones who move from a French-language milieu.

Recommendation 8

398. Minority-language schools are feasible in many metropolitan areas if these schools are allowed to serve a sufficiently large area. Whenever possible these should be separate elementary and secondary schools, although parallel-curriculum schools may be necessary in some cases. The students will often have to accept the inconvenience of travelling further to school, but they will at least have the opportunity to follow a curriculum designed for their special needs. The experience of the Edmonton Separate School Board suggests that transportation offers no real difficulty.¹ **We recommend that official-language minority schools be established in major urban centres whenever the number of minority-language students in the metropolitan area makes this practicable.**

D. Supplementary Educational Services

399. There will still be some isolated families or scattered communities without access to any formal instruction in their mother tongue. The number of children involved, whether Anglophone or Francophone, will be very small. Even in these exceptional cases, however, the right to some education in their first language should be respected.

400. Departments of Education now provide correspondence courses for children in remote areas who have no access to a school. It would not be difficult for these departments to administer correspondence courses in the minority-language to students who have no access to a minority-language school. Such courses have already been developed by some provincial departments and the same courses could likely be used in other provinces as well. These courses might be considered supplementary to attendance at the majority-language school, at least at the elementary level, but they would offer some support for the minority language and culture in these exceptional cases.

401. At the secondary level, residences offer another possibility. Residential public schools are not common in Canada, but they do exist where the population is widely scattered. These residences would be associated with a minority-language school already established within the province. Parents determined to have their children retain their mother tongue would then have this opportunity. The parents would be expected to meet the costs of the residence, but a transfer of school taxes would make non-resident school fees unnecessary.

¹ See § 301.

402. In the last two chapters we have indicated the kinds of education which should be available to the official-language minorities. We have stressed language as the significant factor in determining the character of this education, and the number of students involved as the major factor in deciding the extent to which the minority language could be the language of instruction. Two other factors must be considered before the outline of minority-language education becomes clear. What students will be admitted to minority-language schools or classrooms? Will this education be confessional or non-confessional? In this chapter we will deal with these two questions.

A. Enrolment

403. The education we have described has been designed to meet the essential needs of the official-language minorities. The objective is to ensure that students from these minorities will have educational opportunities equivalent to those of the majority-language students in each province while at the same time developing a command of their mother tongue and an appreciation of their cultural heritage.

404. No doubt most parents belonging to the official-language minorities will applaud these objectives and will want their children to be educated in minority schools. However, there should be no compulsion, and parents of the minority-language group who for some reason prefer to send their children to the majority-language schools in the province should be able to do so. The minority-language schools will help to preserve the cultural identity of the minority-language group, but they can only be effective if the families concerned value this identity.

Option of parents

Minority-language schools will therefore be attended by children whose parents have made a deliberate choice.

Recommendation 9

405. Parents belonging to the majority group who may wish to enrol their children in a minority-language school present a special problem. Some parents from this group will want their children to become bilingual and will see the minority-language school as an ideal way to achieve this. We want to encourage bilingualism and we believe that these schools can play a significant part in making more Canadians bilingual. In many communities they may be the only institutions where the minority language is used as a normal means of communication. Therefore we feel that majority-language parents should have the right to enrol their children in a minority-language school if there is such a school in the community. **We recommend that when both types of school exist in the community, the right of parents to send their children to either the majority-language school or the official-language minority school be recognized.** It will be noted that this applies to both minority- and majority-language parents. It also applies to families which use both—or neither—of the official languages at home.

Preserving the
character of
minority schools

406. This recommendation may create certain difficulties. Minority-language schools are intended to meet the needs of the minority by ensuring a milieu in which their language and culture will be fostered. The language environment of the school will be affected if too large a proportion of students enrolled in a minority-language school have not learned this language at home. In such a case the majority language could easily become the language of the playground and even of the classroom. Even if the teachers insist on using only the minority language in the classroom, the level of instruction will be affected because some of the students will have difficulty in understanding the lesson. This would defeat the purpose of the minority-language schools.

Recommendation
10

407. Certain precautions must be taken to prevent this. Majority-language students should normally attend a minority-language kindergarten before being enrolled in the elementary minority-language school, so that they will acquire some familiarity with the second language. Whenever the number of majority-language students makes it possible, these students should be grouped together for separate instruction. In this way they can receive special attention without disrupting the regular classes. In some large metropolitan areas it may even be possible to establish separate schools for the majority-language students who wish to be taught in the minority-language; some private schools of this type already exist. In isolated cases students who are transferred from majority-language schools may have to repeat a grade in order to learn the language before they can continue their studies effectively in the new school. If the number of majority-language students wishing to

attend the minority-language school becomes unwieldy, quotas may have to be established.¹ The essential point is that the linguistic and cultural character of the school must be protected. This fact must be accepted by those of the majority-language group who wish to have their children attend a minority-language school. **We recommend that the linguistic and cultural character of the official-language minority schools be preserved by limiting, where necessary, the numbers of majority-language students attending these schools.**

B. Confessionality

408. The cultural function of the minority-language schools raises the question of whether or not these schools should be confessional. There is no necessary connection between language and religion—people who speak the same language may belong to different religious denominations and people of the same faith may speak different languages. If the minority-language schools were concerned only with ensuring a command of the minority language there would be no need to discuss the question of confessionality; the confessional character of the school would be irrelevant. But religious belief may be part of the cultural heritage of a society.

Religion and culture

409. In regard to education, the Commission's aim, as prescribed by our terms of reference, is to ensure that the two official languages and cultures are respected. For the purposes of this *Report*, therefore, confessionality as such cannot be at issue. Nevertheless, it is a well-known fact that the great majority of French Canadians have traditionally been very much attached to the confessional school—so much so that many of them consider it to be an essential requirement for French Canadian culture. This position followed from the ties, so often proclaimed, between the French language and the Roman Catholic faith. The influence of the clergy, and the responsibilities which they quite naturally assumed in the minority schools, encouraged the widespread conception that a French Canadian school is first and foremost a confessional school.

410. It is not the task of this Commission to decide theoretically the respective values of public and confessional schools, or to make recommendations to the provinces concerning either the teaching of religion in the school or the way the various denominational groups are to be treated in the school system. Nevertheless, since language and religion have in fact been so closely linked in the realm of education,

¹ The admission policy at the Collège Militaire Royal de Saint-Jean, for example, is 60 per cent Francophone and 40 per cent Anglophone. See L. Painchaud, "Description du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme de trois universités," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 117.

it would hardly be satisfactory from a practical point of view to discuss language in complete isolation from religion. Therefore, we believe it our duty to set out certain principles and to apply them to some typical situations.

411. As we enter this field the Commission is fully conscious of the complex values involved, and of the variety of local situations to be met. We are also aware of the marked progress towards tolerance and agreement in recent years. We certainly do not want to inflame or to resurrect old quarrels but, at the same time, we believe that educational harmony can only be based on justice and that the more one is truly conscious of the various scales of value involved in the establishment of a school system, the better justice is served.

Priority to the
language

412. At the level of principle, our terms of reference require us to approach the question from the clearly delineated point of view of equal partnership between the French-speaking and English-speaking cultural groups. This equality must be achieved as far as possible in all Canadian institutions, and it seems clear that the first distinction to be recognized within these institutions is the one between the two cultures. This in no way precludes other distinctions, but in our concept of Canada it can be subordinate to none. The common good or practical impediments may frequently prevent cultural duality from being carried into our institutions but, in matters primarily subject to political authority, it is hardly conceivable that the claims of religious groups should take precedence over those of the French-speaking and English-speaking communities. This means that in any educational institutions supported by public funds, the needs of the Francophones and Anglophones must receive first consideration. This principle in no sense prejudices the question of whether schools should be confessional or non-confessional.

413. In the opinion of the Commission, the concept of Canada underlying our terms of reference implies in the field of education certain conclusions evident to anyone who examines the indissoluble link between language and the school. It is futile to claim that a culture can truly survive—let alone flourish—if it is not supported by a network of good schools, providing their own distinctive instruction up to an advanced level. On the other hand, we are not diminishing the importance of confessional education when we deny that the link between the school and religion is comparable to that between the school and language. For language, the school is a question of life or death; this is not so for religion. In any assessment of the concept of education, these simple truths are inescapable and are borne out by experience. Nevertheless, in this country they have been grossly misunderstood, to the detriment of French-language schools.

414. In effect, there are in Canada any number of situations where parents—simply because they did not formally raise the question of French schools as a matter of priority—have found it difficult or impossible to have their children educated in French. For example, in provinces where all subsidized schools were in principle both public and English, Francophones were led to demand that their schools be both confessional and French. They thus raised a double problem, and a government was more likely to attach greater importance to the confessional aspect because it affected a larger group—that is, all Roman Catholics in the province. In British Columbia, for instance, the dimension of the problem thereby assumed an entirely different importance. By aligning themselves in common cause with other Roman Catholics to obtain confessional schools, Francophones could not expect to obtain any linguistic guarantees. The experience of other provinces abundantly demonstrated that, although the French language was forever presented as the guardian of the faith, religious and educational authorities were much less disposed to use religion as the guardian of the language.

415. On the other hand the Acadians in New Brunswick have been remarkably successful in transforming a large number of public schools into French-language institutions, precisely because most Acadians, however reluctantly, accepted the public system. If they had raised the religious and the linguistic issues simultaneously, as was done elsewhere, the progress of recent years would probably not have been nearly as great nor the prospects for the French language in New Brunswick as viable as they are today.

New Brunswick

416. The Acadian experience in New Brunswick is valuable not only in concrete terms but also as a principle of action. It shows that the confessional school is not necessarily a matter of law or of legal definition. Beyond the formal point of view, the spirit of the school itself is in practice determined by the teachers and those directly in charge. A public school serving a religiously homogeneous population from which its entire staff is drawn will necessarily reflect the spirit of that group, at least in a democratic country such as Canada. In many ways, it will have the spirit of a confessional school without the external appearance. The substance rather than the letter will be evident, and this presence will be all the more authentic for having come about naturally, solely through the influence of real social conditions. Here, then, is the case where language may quite objectively be said to be the guardian of the faith. On the other hand, where the school is first and foremost confessional and then perhaps French-speaking up to a point, it is a simple historical fact that the confessional guarantee affords very little real protection to the language.

417. In reality and in spite of legal guarantees, a minority confessional group frequently runs into difficulties in establishing and, even more, in developing its own schools. It has every reason to gather its members together; above all, it cannot afford to divide them among separate institutions. In the Canadian situation these extremely powerful factors can only work to the advantage of the English language.

The double
minority

418. In other words, the Francophones have all too frequently found themselves doubly in the minority—that is, a linguistic minority within the larger religious minority. This is a great disadvantage because a minority naturally tends to assert itself in relation to the majority and therefore to disregard the smaller minority within its own ranks. It is thus not difficult to conclude that in raising the school question primarily on confessional grounds, many French-speaking groups have singularly complicated and aggravated their cultural situation. In fact, it would have been much easier for them to make the French school confessional than to make the confessional school French.

Quebec

419. Thus far we have discussed only the French-language school. We should also mention the case of the Roman Catholic English-language schools in Quebec. Here again we find a double minority group—the Anglophone Roman Catholics are a minority within the Anglophone minority of the province. Because of the strictly confessional character of the Quebec school system, this group is attached to the French-speaking majority. For historical and sociological reasons, this group has certainly been more favoured than its Francophone counterparts in the other provinces. Nevertheless, the lot of the English-speaking Roman Catholics in Quebec is becoming increasingly difficult because of the growing demands of educational development. There is a clearly discernible tendency on their part to cross the confessional barrier and to regroup within structures designed principally for the Anglophones. It seems clear that the minority in Quebec, like the Francophone minorities in the other provinces, will have more opportunities to retain its cultural influence if it does so on the basis of language.

Recommendation
11

420. We are not suggesting that the present provincial laws on denominational schools should be amended. In provinces where separate schools now exist by law, we believe that Francophone parents should have the same right to separate schools as any other group of Roman Catholic parents. In provinces where schools are non-denominational by law, we believe that the cultural objectives of the French-language schools can be achieved within the existing system. The essential step is the establishment of schools in which French is the language of in-

struction. We recommend that the right of the official-language minority to have its own schools be dissociated from any consideration of the confessional character of these schools.

421. This recommendation may pose a problem for some parents. In those provinces which now have separate schools, the minority in a small community may establish its right to a French-language school, but it may not have a choice as to whether the school will be public or separate. Whatever the decision of the majority of parents, there may be some who cannot accept the decision because of strong religious convictions. The only choice left open to them will be to send their children to a majority-language school in the community or to a private school. Such cases will be exceptional. The alternative, however, would be an unacceptable duplication of minority-language schools in small communities. Minority-language schools will therefore not always be able to satisfy parents who give a higher priority to the denominational character of the school than to the language of instruction. By thus assigning a priority to its objectives for either language or confessionality, each group must accept in all logic the disadvantages, if any, resulting for the secondary objective. Governments and the various authorities must also make the necessary distinction and, where it is considered impossible or undesirable to satisfy all demands, they must offer the minority group a clear choice. In particular, they must avoid rejecting or skirting linguistically based demands, founded on the very nature of the country, by invoking confessional considerations which are of an entirely different order.

422. Until now we have been describing the kind of schools which we believe would meet the cultural and academic needs of Anglophone and Francophone minorities in Canada. These schools, however, cannot exist as isolated institutions; they can only exist within the context of an educational system capable of providing a curriculum, preparing courses of study and teaching aids, and training the necessary teachers.

423. We have already recommended that the curricula for the minority schools should follow the same broad outlines as those of the majority schools in the same province. The same principle applies to other aspects of the minority-language schools: no distinction should be made between the buildings and equipment or the revenues of minority- and majority-language schools, if the aim is to achieve equivalent standards within the province.

Uniform
standards

424. All this implies that minority-language schools can be most effectively organized in a provincial framework. It also implies that the two streams must be closely associated. At the same time, minority-language schools cannot be treated exactly like other schools. The language difference alone means that they must receive special consideration for many services and, if the schools are to be part of a co-ordinated system, they will require special administrative arrangements. Overall planning for minority-language schools must therefore be designed to meet two objectives. The schools must be closely linked to the majority system in the same province in order to ensure equivalent standards, and they must have a special, identifiable organization to serve their special needs. The following sections will describe an appropriate administrative structure to attain these objectives.

A. The Provincial Departments of Education

Danger of an
isolated system

425. The administration of minority-language schools at the level of the provincial department of Education must be differentiated from the administration of the majority schools, but it should not be completely separated. A completely separate department for the minority schools is conceivable, even to the extent of a separate cabinet minister. This would ensure that the minority-language schools would be administered as a co-ordinated system, with school planning, curriculum planning, and special services all directed towards the special educational needs of the minority. The grave danger of a separate department is that the minority schools would constitute an isolated system. Changes might be introduced into either of the two school systems in the province without reference to the other, and the two systems might eventually have little in common. Different policies might be adopted for school consolidation, for the curriculum, or for teaching methods, to the point where educational opportunities and academic standards differed. The minority-language system would not necessarily suffer by comparison as a result of this divergence; it might adopt wiser policies. In all provinces, however, the majority school system would have the advantage of size; it would be able to allocate more resources to planning and would be better able to test and adopt new policies. This is especially true outside Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick. In any case, advances in education should not be restricted to either system but should benefit all the students in the province.

Recommendation
12

426. Even within a single provincial department of Education, no distinction need be made in the administration of majority- and minority-language schools in some areas. Most departments have a division responsible for school buildings and equipment. In this area the same problems must be resolved, whether the language of instruction is French or English, and a separate division for minority-language schools would mean unnecessary duplication. The establishment of separate divisions would be wasteful and would also make it more difficult to ensure that all students in the province would have equivalent standards of school accommodation. Similarly, the accounting and financial divisions should not be divided into separate sections. Financial procedures should be the same for all schools. **We recommend that there be no division within provincial departments of Education for the administration of physical services and school finances for official-language minority schools.**

Liaison

427. There must be a differentiation when the language of instruction and the curriculum are involved, but even here there must be close collaboration. Let us consider, as an example, the revision of a

course of study in mathematics. If this revision were done first for the majority-language schools, the new course of study would not be available to the minority schools until the new textbooks and teaching aids had been translated and printed in the minority language. Unless the preparation of the two versions proceeded simultaneously, there would be a significant delay in introducing the new course in minority-language schools. Since new courses can only be introduced after careful planning, and may even require special training programmes for teachers, it is apparent that the special needs of the minority-language schools must be considered as soon as the decision is made to revise a course of study.

428. In the future, the planning of courses will be most effective if the administrators of the minority-language schools actively collaborate at every stage. The new courses of study will then be more likely to reflect the outlook of each cultural group. Collaboration will be essential for subjects such as history, where the broad outline of the course should be the same for all schools but where the interests of both cultural groups must be considered, and where the detailed courses of study may differ.

429. Collaboration will be particularly important in the planning of language courses. We can anticipate much more specialization in the preparation of the language programmes for the majority- and minority-language schools, for the teaching of both the mother tongue and the second official language. For each stream within the system special courses of study, appropriate to the language needs of the students, will have to be prepared. This means that for the minority-language schools the language programmes will be designed by people primarily concerned with these schools, but nonetheless in close contact with their counterparts for the majority schools, so that new approaches to language teaching and new methods will be developed in collaboration and introduced in all schools at the same time.

430. The need for a distinct administration responsible for minority schools is not restricted to the curriculum. There must also be some planning service for the provision of school facilities on a regional basis, especially for specialized programmes at the secondary level and for technological institutes. Teacher-training facilities must be provided to meet the demand for specialized teachers who can teach in the minority language. As with the curriculum, such services must reflect the special needs of the minority-language students and cannot be mere duplications of similar services provided for the majority-language schools. Close collaboration is needed to ensure as much uniformity as possible, bearing in mind the basic aims of the minority-language

Recommendation
13

schools. Therefore, we recommend that special divisions, sections, or individuals within provincial departments of Education be responsible for services in official-language minority schools which directly reflect language or cultural differences. The departments should be organized in such a way as to ensure collaboration in the development of comparable services for minority- and majority-language schools.

Structure at
departmental
level

431. Each provincial department of Education will have to decide on the most appropriate administrative arrangements to carry out this recommendation. In provinces where there will be few minority-language schools, one official within a division or section may be adequate, provided he is assured sufficient resources in staff and budget to fulfil his functions adequately. In such cases it would be advisable for him to keep in touch with his counterparts in other provinces, so that he can quickly adapt and introduce improvements appropriate to the minority schools in his province. The newly-formed Council of Education Ministers may provide a logical channel for communication between the administrators of minority-language schools in all the provinces.

Recommendation
14

432. In Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick, where the number and the variety of minority schools will be large, more formal steps will be needed to ensure their co-ordination into a system. Parallel divisions may be required for some services, although for other services parallel sections within a division may be preferable. An official at the associate or assistant deputy minister level should be appointed to supervise all aspects of the minority-language schools. It is essential that the administration of the minority-language stream be conceived as an organic whole, with both the number and quality of personnel to supervise the various divisions of the curriculum and to provide supporting services; this administration should have a budget allowing for such things as travel and consultation. In other words, while the need for collaboration between the two administrations is unquestionable, the minority-language division must not be placed in the role of an adjunct to the majority-language administration, but must be a fully-developed, institutionalized service. In the beginning stages especially, budget allotments may need to be disproportionately high. **We recommend that in Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick the administration of official-language minority schools be under the direction of an administrator at the associate or assistant deputy minister level, and that this administrator be provided with an adequate staff and budget.**

B. The Local School Authority

433. What local school authority should administer the minority-language schools? Should one school board be responsible for both the

majority-language and minority-language schools or should there be two distinct administrative structures at the local level? A separate school board for the minority-language schools offers greater assurance that these schools will reflect the linguistic and cultural interests of the minority. On the other hand, the existence of two school boards may lead to duplication of services or to disputes over shared services. Administrative problems can be resolved, but the division of administrative authority will make it more difficult to ensure equivalent educational services and opportunities for the two groups. It would be preferable to have a single authority, if adequate safeguards could be provided for the language and the cultural character of both majority- and minority-language schools in the school district.

434. Many of the complaints of the minority groups have been directed against the system of a single school authority. In provinces where some form of bilingual school is recognized, the decision to provide these schools has usually been left to the local school board. Where the minority-language group was a minority within the community, it has not been able to assert its right to such schools but has had to appeal to the good will of members of the school board. In many cases the school board has been reluctant to establish bilingual schools. We have recommended that minority-language schools should be established in the bilingual districts.¹ We have further recommended that the right to minority-language schools outside the bilingual districts should be based on objective criteria, such as the number of students involved, and that these criteria should be clearly established by provincial regulations. These regulations will be binding on local school boards and will thus eliminate one of the major areas of controversy at the local level.²

Safeguards for
the minority

435. However, there may still be areas of controversy. Even if the majority on the board were not hostile, they might be more concerned with the majority-language schools and so might overlook or ignore the needs of the minority. The decision to construct a minority-language school in a growing suburb might be postponed until other needs were met. The dangers can easily be exaggerated. Local school boards administer both English-language and "bilingual" schools in New Brunswick, and separate school boards do the same at the elementary level in Ontario. These boards have had differences in the past, as have all school boards, but the disputes over the treatment of the minority have usually been resolved at the local level.

436. When the procedures for establishing minority-language schools are set out by regulation, it seems probable that serious disputes will be

¹ See § 359.

² See § 384.

even less common. When school trustees are responsible for administering the two kinds of schools, they are not likely to sabotage the education provided for the minority, and in most cases they will respond to the needs of the minority when these needs are understood. The position of the minority in any school district will be relatively secure when the minority-language schools are considered as much a part of the provincial educational system as the majority-language schools. We will discuss later what safeguards may be introduced to prevent any injustice or to mediate disputes.

Recommendation
15

437. The advantages of a common authority are most obvious in the provision of physical services. A single transportation system is likely to be more efficient, particularly in rural areas. Special equipment, ranging from highly specialized scientific instruments to mobile classrooms, can be better utilized. School maintenance and repairs are not affected by the language used in the classroom. The advantages of a unified administration are even more obvious when school facilities must be shared. The sharing of gymnasias, laboratories, and classrooms always leads to some friction; if the facilities of one school board are to be shared with the students who are the administrative responsibility of a second school board, the difficulties are multiplied. Financial arrangements are also much simpler and more efficient if there is only one school board, especially for the collection of the local school tax. Equivalent services should be provided for majority- and minority-language students in the same community. A single school board is the surest way of achieving this objective. **We recommend that one school board be responsible for the administration of all schools at the elementary or secondary level in the school district.**

438. Our intention in this recommendation is that all schools at the same level, whether majority-language or minority-language schools, should come under the same local authority. This recommendation for a common school board can be adopted within the existing framework of local school administration in most provinces. Where today there is only one school board administering all the elementary or secondary schools in the district, there will only be one board after this recommendation is adopted. In those provinces which have separate schools, and in Quebec, where there are Protestant and Roman Catholic schools, there may be two school boards exercising responsibility for elementary or secondary schools over the same territory. We are not suggesting any basic change in this framework. The minority-language schools in these provinces can still be administered by one or other of the two school boards, just as are the schools in these provinces today.

Recommendation
16

439. There is one exception to this rule. In Ontario the elementary separate school boards administer some Grade ix and x classes in

some communities in the province.¹ Present trends in education are towards consolidated secondary schools which make possible a wide range of programmes—academic, technical, and commercial. The problem of grouping a large number of secondary students in the same school is already acute for minority-language students because they form only a part of the total student population in a region. The difficulty is increased if Franco-Ontarian students are divided for these two grades. These students must be grouped together in the same school if they are to benefit as much as possible from the facilities which large secondary schools can provide. Otherwise, they are isolated from the mainstream of secondary education in the province and thus do not benefit from educational advances. **We recommend that all official minority-language instruction at the secondary level be removed from the jurisdiction of elementary school boards in Ontario.**

440. The essential step in safeguarding the interests of the minority as far as the local school board is concerned is to make sure that their point of view is represented on this board. This means, obviously, that there must be representation from the minority-language group on the board. **We recommend that a school board shall include representatives of both majority-language and official minority-language schools whenever the board has both kinds of schools under its jurisdiction.**

Recommendation
17

441. The number of trustees for each group should normally reflect the size of the two language groups within the school district. However, this recommendation ensures that the minority-language group in the district will always have one trustee, even if their numbers do not warrant representation. The problem of the manner of ensuring such representation can be left to provincial authorities. This representation will ensure that the school board is made aware of the point of view of the minority and we are convinced that in most cases the board will give due weight to this point of view.

442. It will sometimes be possible to give even more weight to the minority on the board. When there are enough schools of each kind in a single district, the school board should divide into two committees, one for each kind of school. Each committee would make the administrative decisions relating specifically to the schools represented by the members of the committee. The two committees would meet together for decisions affecting all schools in the district.

443. Should the occasion arise when the minority on the board feels that there has been an injustice, an appeal to the provincial department of Education must be possible. The interests of both the minority and the majority on the board must be protected when an official complaint is made. The investigation by the department should therefore

Appeals to the
department of
Education

¹ See § 219ff.

be conducted by a team which includes an official intimately associated with minority-language schools as well as one associated with majority-language schools. It is unlikely that there would be many appeals to a department, but the possibility of an appeal will itself be an assurance that school boards will try to treat the minority in the school district with justice.

444. Teachers will be the primary agents for establishing the character of the minority-language schools. Without specially qualified teachers, these schools will not be able to achieve either the academic or the cultural objectives. These teachers should have the same academic qualifications as the teachers in majority-language schools and, in addition, they must know the minority language. Language competence is important for all teachers, whatever their subject, because all teachers influence the language habits of their students. This competence is of special importance for teachers in minority-language schools, because the classroom must often compensate for the confusing language milieu of the community.

445. The importance of the language qualification has sometimes led to the suggestion that teachers for the French-language minority schools might be recruited in the province of Quebec. The shortage of qualified teachers in Quebec makes this suggestion unrealistic, and even if Francophone teachers were prepared to leave their home province to teach in minority-language schools, they would require special training to prepare them for a different curriculum and a different system. There has always been some migration of teachers from one province to another, but most teachers remain in the province where they were trained. There is little doubt that each province will have to be responsible for training teachers for its minority-language schools.

A. Teacher Training

446. Training facilities for these teachers must be distinct from the facilities provided to staff the majority-language schools. The training institutions, even more than the schools, must provide an appropriate

Recommendation
18

cultural and language milieu. These institutions must also provide special training for the teaching of the mother tongue and the second official language and, at the same time, must ensure that teachers possess the necessary vocabulary for other subjects. It is illogical to train teachers in majority-language institutions for teaching in minority-language schools. **We recommend that the teachers destined for majority-language schools and official-language minority schools be trained in separate institutions.**

Quebec, Ontario,
and New
Brunswick

447. Each bilingual province will need its own minority-language teacher-training institutions. Training facilities for Anglophone teachers already exist in Quebec. A French-language teachers' college has recently been established at Moncton in New Brunswick. In Ontario, teachers for the "bilingual" elementary schools are trained at Ottawa and more recently at Sudbury. The Teachers' College at the University of Ottawa has been recognized as a normal school since 1927 and has provided close to 8,000 bilingual teachers for the primary schools of Ontario. Since 1955, degrees—including Bachelor of Education, Master of Education, and Doctor of Education—have been awarded to a total of 650 teachers to supply the need for bilingual secondary school teachers.

The other
provinces

448. Separate institutions in each of the other Atlantic provinces or in the four western provinces would not be practicable, the number of teachers required being too small to justify a teachers' college in each province. The college at Moncton can provide the special character as well as the academic training required for teachers in the minority-language schools of the Atlantic provinces. The provincial authorities in Nova Scotia are already considering the possibility of training teachers at Moncton. Arrangements to cover the cost of training students from the other Atlantic provinces should be made with the government of New Brunswick or with the Moncton Teachers' College.

Recommendation
19

449. There is no comparable institution in any of the four western provinces. There is no French-language university where a teachers' college could be located. Through the affiliation of the Collège Saint-Jean in Edmonton with the University of Alberta, prospective teachers in Alberta may receive two years of their training in French, and the Collège de Saint-Boniface has been considered as a possible source of teachers for the "bilingual" schools of Manitoba. Certainly a special training programme must be planned for teachers for minority-language schools. A French-language college affiliated with a provincial university would be the most appropriate site for a new institution which could serve minority-language schools of the four western provinces. **We recommend that the Teachers' College at Moncton become the training institution for teachers for official-language minority schools in the Atlantic**

provinces, and that one training institution be established to serve the needs of the four western provinces.

450. It is not possible to discuss the teacher-training programmes in detail. The existing programmes for the majority-language schools vary slightly in content from province to province, but the major differences are often between different programmes within the same province. There may be one-year programmes and five-year programmes; there may be different programmes for elementary and secondary teachers, or for general teachers and specialists. The essential principle is that the academic and professional requirements should be similar for teachers in majority- and minority-language schools in all provinces for each kind of teacher's certificate. Only in this way can equivalent academic standards be achieved. In addition, special measures must be taken to ensure that teachers in the minority-language schools have the required level of language competence.

Programmes

451. Until now we have made no distinction between the minority-language schools in Quebec and those of the other provinces. Our recommendations will affect the existing provincial educational systems in different ways because the present educational facilities for the minorities differ from province to province, but the minority-language schools we have recommended are based on the same principles, whatever the language of instruction. We do not believe, however, that the establishment of uniform regulations for all minorities is an objective in itself. The objectives are academic and cultural; when the situation of the minorities differs significantly, these objectives may require different policies. The language needs of teachers for French-language and English-language minority schools are different, and different kinds of training programmes will be required for the two groups.

452. English-language schools in Quebec have no special difficulty in finding teachers competent in English, or in graduating students with an adequate command of their mother tongue. It is true that many Anglophones deplore the inability of Canadian youth to use effective or even grammatical English, but this is not a problem peculiar to Anglophones who come into frequent contact with the French language. The French-speaking minorities face a different problem. One result of the pervasiveness of English in North America is that French-speaking Canadians often adapt English words or phrases, or use English constructions, without realizing that they are not speaking French. These anglicisms are not unknown in Quebec but they are much more common among the Francophone minorities, where contact with English is more frequent. Special efforts must be made to improve the knowledge of the students' mother tongue. Most of the teachers—on whom the success of these efforts depends—will

Recommendation
20

themselves be drawn from the provincial minority. Their own French may need to be improved before they can raise the standard of French in minority-language schools. Steps must be taken to compensate for this precarious position of French among the French-speaking minorities in Canada. **We recommend that the training programmes for teachers in French-language minority schools be extended in order to develop a higher competence in French.**

453. We hesitate to recommend a definite length of time for this purpose because there are so many training programmes. We are convinced, however, that the importance of this objective makes it appropriate that the training programme for teachers of these minority-language schools be extended by one year beyond the equivalent programme for teachers of the majority-language schools. The additional time would not be devoted entirely or even mainly to the study of French as a subject. Correct and precise expression in the mother tongue should be one of the aims of every course and not merely the courses devoted to French language and literature. The important thing is that these prospective teachers should prolong their studies in a French-language milieu. English should also be a compulsory subject for these students, since a knowledge of English is one way in which these teachers can learn to distinguish between good French and anglicized French.

454. The graduates of these teacher-training institutions should receive special teachers' certificates, since they would have the same academic and professional qualifications as their Anglophone counterparts, as well as special language qualifications and special training for language teaching. It is taken for granted that the salary scales for the teachers in these schools will reflect the required extra year of training.

B. Teacher Supply

455. Will there be enough teachers to staff the minority-language schools we have proposed? In Quebec there will not be many difficulties. The minority in this province already has English-language schools, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. Our recommendations will require some changes in the curricula, but the teachers in these schools will find it relatively easy to adapt to these changes.

456. Other provinces will find it more difficult to staff their minority-language schools. The "bilingual" schools now in existence are not minority-language schools such as we have recommended. The elementary "bilingual" schools in New Brunswick and in Ontario bear some resemblance. In the other English-speaking provinces, and at the secondary level in Ontario, there have been no schools which ap-

proximate minority-language schools. Teachers will have to be trained to staff the new minority-language schools.

457. This does not mean that the establishment of French-language schools must wait until a full complement of teachers is fully trained. Such a policy of perfection would mean that the schools would never open. Training institutions must be established as quickly as possible to prepare teachers for the new minority-language schools. Teachers now in the “bilingual” schools have academic and professional training and can speak French, so these teachers must be used to staff the minority-language schools in the beginning. They will be available since present “bilingual” schools will disappear. Many of these teachers are members of religious orders, but an ecclesiastical habit should be no barrier to the teaching of arithmetic. It would seem reasonable to allow these teachers to teach in minority-language schools as long as they are properly qualified to do so.

Interim supply

458. This is not the ideal solution. As we have seen, many of the “bilingual” school teachers are not adequately qualified academically or professionally and they are also not formally qualified in terms of the language needs of the minority-language schools. An active summer school programme will be required to improve their qualifications. Such teachers should have only temporary certificates until their qualifications have been raised. We further suggest that these temporary certificates be withdrawn after a few years in order to ensure that the retraining programme will be effective.

459. It is obvious that no province can create overnight the French-language schools we envisage, with the academic and cultural objectives we describe. There will inevitably be a period of transition from the “bilingual” schools of today. The transitional period may last for a generation, because the minority-language schools themselves will provide the best training for future teachers. Even during the transition, however, these schools will be superior to the present “bilingual” schools. The difficulties are no more than a measure of the inadequacies of the present system. The aim should be to make the period of transition as brief as possible.

Period of transition

460. The greatest expansion in education today is taking place at the post-secondary level. Not only is university enrolment spiralling, but most provinces are experimenting with technological institutes, community colleges, and other forms of post-secondary education. No complete educational system can end at the secondary level. Unless further educational opportunities are provided for the graduates of the minority-language schools we have recommended, their education will be inadequate. The academic and cultural objectives for minority-language education will determine the facilities required at the post-secondary level. Institutions should offer equivalent academic standards and educational opportunities while fostering the development of the language and cultural heritage of the minority-language student. For some institutions these objectives will present special problems, and in the case of universities they will require different approaches.

A. Post-secondary Institutions

461. Most types of post-secondary institutions are clearly an extension of the provincial school system. Examples are technological institutes, community colleges, and the new two-year general and vocational colleges (CEGEP) in Quebec. Such institutions come under provincial departments of Education in much the same way as public schools, and they are intended to meet the special educational needs of students within the province. Minority-language students should have access to such institutions on the same conditions that they have access to elementary and secondary education. The size of the minority-language student body will again determine whether a separate minority-language or a parallel-curriculum institution is feasible,

or whether only a few classes can be taught in the minority language. Again, provincial regulations should determine what educational facilities must be provided.

**Regional
organization**

462. One distinction must be made at the post-secondary level. Bilingual districts will have both majority-language and minority-language schools at the elementary and secondary levels. Post-secondary institutions, however, often serve a larger territory than that described in a bilingual district. It would not be logical to insist that each district with an English-language technological institute should also have a French-language institute or vice versa. One minority-language institute may serve two or three bilingual districts and it should be located at the most convenient centre. All students in bilingual districts should have access to post-secondary instruction in their own language, but they may not always be able to attend an institution in their own district. In exceptional cases, minority students from one province might enrol in institutions in a neighbouring province; Nova Scotian students might study in a French-language technological institute in New Brunswick, for example. In all cases, the provincial departments of Education should provide post-secondary education in the minority language whenever numbers make it feasible.

B. Universities

463. Universities are a special case. In many respects universities are also an extension of the provincial school system: this is why there is at least one university in each province and why all universities receive some financial support from provincial authorities. On the other hand, no province can afford to provide training in all the possible professional faculties or all the possible fields of graduate studies. Many post-graduate students must go to the other provinces or even to other countries. Some specialization is both necessary and desirable at the university level. For example, a nuclear reactor at every university in Canada would be absurd, because a few reactors can meet our research needs and provide adequate facilities for all the graduate students who will use this equipment. To the extent that universities do not meet all the needs of the students within the province, they do not complete the provincial educational system; to the extent that they serve students from other provinces, they are more than an extension of this system.

Specialization

464. Universities do not fit neatly into a provincial context. In some fields, especially in research, they serve a larger region. Cost is only one of the factors involved. Even if money were available, there would not be enough professors or students to offer all areas of specialized study at all universities. Such a dispersal of effort would only mean

that no school of Oriental studies or no department of low-temperature physics, for example, could be first-class. Students of all provinces benefit more from a few of these specialized faculties with a high reputation than from a larger number of mediocre faculties.

465. When we consider the special case of the French-language universities, the problems of specialization become even more complex. The equality of the two cultural groups in Canada requires that each group should have access as far as possible to educational opportunities in its own language. For the Francophone minorities, however, there are obvious limits to the opportunities which can be provided within a single province. Equivalent educational opportunities at the elementary and secondary levels can usually be arranged for the linguistic minority within the local community. Franco-Ontarians, however, cannot expect to have a French-language university in the province which is the exact counterpart of the University of Toronto. The Franco-Ontarian minority is large enough to justify undergraduate teaching and some professional training and research at a French-language university, but there are not enough Francophone professors or students for the more specialized areas of study or research. If exceptional minority-language students wish to continue certain studies within their own province, they may have to go to a majority-language institution. The alternative will be to enrol in a university outside the province.

466. Even within Quebec, equivalent opportunities at university level for the Anglophone minority do not mean an exact duplication of the higher education available in French. The three English-language universities in Quebec offer a wide range of undergraduate and graduate training. The basic fact of a larger Francophone population, however, means that higher education at the French-language universities will grow more rapidly and will offer some professional training or research facilities not offered at the English-language institutions. Anglophones wishing to specialize in these fields will either have to continue their studies in French or go out of the province.

467. The Francophone minorities are in a different situation. The opportunities for higher education in French within their own provinces are seriously restricted. Many factors account for this. The minorities are widely scattered and have no large metropolitan centres. In the past they have not had adequate elementary and secondary French-language schools. For socio-economic reasons, they have felt less need for the development of French-language universities. The causes, however, are now of little importance. The fact is that the opportunities for higher education for the Francophone minorities are inadequate—inadequate by comparison with the opportunities for

Anglophones within the same province, and inadequate even when the differences in numbers are taken into account.

Recommendation
21

468. This situation will not necessarily be remedied by creating more French-language universities. Universities established to serve small provincial minorities would be doomed to mediocrity or worse, and the apparent opportunities for higher education would be mirages. The effort should be concentrated on a relatively small number of institutions. In some cases these universities would serve Francophone communities located in neighbouring provinces. **We recommend that French-language education at the university level be provided for the Francophone minority whenever the potential enrolment makes it feasible to do so.**

Extension of
facilities for
French-speaking
minorities

469. This recommendation does not specify in what areas or at what level this education should be provided; nor does it suggest the criteria determining the feasibility of providing undergraduate or graduate instruction in French. No rules can be laid down. The number of Francophones now attending universities is not a satisfactory guide. Experience shows that new institutions always attract local students who would not otherwise have gone to university. In addition, the enrolment of Francophones would be encouraged by offering French as the language of instruction. On the other hand, universities cannot be created for students who never materialize.

470. The decision to offer university instruction in French will no doubt depend on the same kind of demographic data used when planning new English-language institutions—information such as population density and the proportion of secondary-school graduates who may be expected to attend university. We suggest, however, that this kind of data must be used with great care in the case of the French-speaking minorities. The criteria used for the English-speaking majority cannot be rigidly applied. The response of the minority cannot be gauged with assurance until there are actual opportunities to study in French and until the impact of schooling in French at the secondary level is felt.

471. Even the experience with bilingual universities may not be relevant. A bilingual university may be seen as a means of gradually introducing French as a language of instruction; as Francophone enrolment increases, more courses can be offered in French until eventually the university becomes a parallel-curriculum institution. The difficulty with this approach is that, in the early stages, students must be prepared to take the senior courses in English and will see little or no advantage in taking the introductory courses in French. A better plan would be to offer in French all the courses required for certain undergraduate degrees and then to broaden this degree programme as enrolment increased.

1. Atlantic region

472. Our recommendations, although stated in general terms, must be adapted to regional contexts. In the Atlantic region, for example, there is already a French-language university and, indeed, the only French-language university outside Quebec. The University of Moncton is the logical institution to serve the Francophone minority of New Brunswick and that of the entire Atlantic region. This is a new institution and it will be some years before it can offer the variety of courses and programmes already available to Anglophone students in the region, but its establishment and its accelerated development already represent a significant effort to redress the balance and offer equivalent opportunities to the Acadian minority. In some fields at least, this university can serve not only the Acadian population of the Atlantic provinces, but also students from the Gaspé region of Quebec. Provincial governments will have to accept some financial responsibility for their students who enrol at the University of Moncton. The size of the grant will be proportionate to the number of students involved, and will be determined by agreements with the government of New Brunswick. With the collaboration of the French-language universities of Quebec in such matters as student and professor exchanges and the use of library resources, the university could become a centre of French culture in eastern Canada.

2. Ontario

473. Francophones in Ontario are served by two institutions of higher learning—the University of Ottawa and Laurentian University—both of which are “bilingual.” In the General Introduction to the Commission’s *Report* we pointed out the ambiguity surrounding this term.¹ Bilingualism for the individual covers a wide range of skills. The “bilingual” schools for the Francophone minority range from schools in which everything but French is taught in English to those in which everything but English is taught in French. A similar ambiguity surrounds the term in its application to the institutions of higher learning.² In any discussion of the opportunities for higher education in the minority language, only the courses and programmes taught in French at these bilingual institutions are relevant. English-language universities in Ontario have been proliferating and expanding rapidly. It seems clear that an expansion in French-language training is also desirable.

Recommendation
22

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, §§ 25-34.

² See §§ 246-9 of this Book for the present situation at Laurentian University and the University of Ottawa.

We believe that more degree programmes in French at the undergraduate level would be justified and it seems probable that more programmes in French could also be introduced beyond the undergraduate level in some areas. There may be enough Francophone candidates to justify offering degrees in nursing and in medicine at the University of Ottawa, for example.¹ **We recommend that the University of Ottawa and Laurentian University give priority to increasing the number of degree programmes offered in French.**

474. In the case of Laurentian University, the present situation precludes a French-language university and even a vigorous French section within a bilingual university. The expansion of French instruction here will depend on the development of French-language secondary schools in Ontario and on a higher proportion of Francophone students going on to university.

475. On a regional basis, the University of Ottawa could serve part of Northern Ontario and both the Ontario and Quebec sides of the Ottawa River. This student constituency could very well justify the establishment of either a totally French-language university or at least considerable extension of the present range of educational opportunities available in the French language. At present, the University of Ottawa's lack of certain programmes in French hardly satisfies the population of Hull and vicinity, where creation of an independent centre of university studies is being considered. But would the French-speaking population on both sides of the Ottawa River best be served by having two institutions of French-language higher education with severely limited scope? There is at least room to imagine the vigorous development of a single institution serving both provinces.

476. The provinces of Ontario and Quebec could negotiate an agreement on the structure, the administration, and the financing of such an institution. This will be even more logical if the university is to be located in a city which has, to some degree at least, the status of a federal district. The federal government will also have a special interest in these arrangements, and the desirability of co-ordinated action on the part of all three governments thus appears obvious.

3. The western provinces

477. We have already pointed out that there is no French-language university to serve the four western provinces. Here the Francophone

¹ The Royal Commission on Health Services recommended the establishment of at least 10 more university schools for nursing, and named the University of Moncton and Laurentian University among the universities where such schools might suitably be established. See *Report of the Royal Commission on Health Services, 1964* (Ottawa, 1964), I, 68, Recommendation 133.

population groupings are both small in size and widely scattered. The Collège de Saint-Boniface, dating back to the earliest days of the Manitoba settlement, is now affiliated with the University of Manitoba. The College offers in French the same programme in arts and science as the University offers in English, and a special course in French language and literature. The Collège Saint-Jean in Edmonton offers two years of the teacher-training course in French through affiliation with the University of Alberta, and academic courses leading to the *baccalauréat* in arts through affiliation with the University of Ottawa. Plans are well advanced to institute a programme of bilingual studies on the Regina campus of the University of Saskatchewan; Francophones will receive two-thirds of their instruction in French and one-third in English, and Anglophones will receive courses in the reverse proportion. These courses—leading to what is designated as a “bilingual B.A.”—will be of special interest to students of the Collège Mathieu at Gravelbourg.

478. We have already emphasized the urgency of a French-language teacher-training centre for the western provinces, and the general principle of developing a French-language college within an existing university; this would not exclude the possibility of a French-language university in western Canada whenever the potential enrolment makes it feasible. If we consider the western provinces as a single region, it seems apparent that a study of the need and resources for higher education for the Francophone minorities in western Canada should be undertaken, with emphasis on establishing first a school of pedagogy.

4. *Enrolment outside the student's province*

479. These proposals need to be supplemented by giving some special assistance to students so that they can attend other French-language universities in Canada. Our recommendation that university education be provided within a region for a Francophone minority whenever this is feasible will not meet the needs of all students.¹ French-speaking students in the western provinces may wish to take undergraduate degrees not offered in French in their provinces. In Ontario and the Atlantic provinces, there will be many graduate programmes not offered in French. It would be illogical for these provinces to try to provide these facilities, in view of the small number of students involved. Even if costs were a secondary consideration, these French-language universities could not hope to duplicate the staff and resources of the larger University of Montreal and Laval University; it would be more advantageous to send the students to universities in

Recommendation
23

¹ See § 468.

Quebec. The situation of the English-language minority is not an exact parallel, because English-language universities in Quebec offer a wide range of courses. There will nonetheless be occasions when it would be wiser to send English-speaking students outside the province than to provide the facilities within Quebec. **We recommend a federal grant to official minority-language students to enable them to study in their own language at a Canadian university outside their province, when courses are not available in their own language within the province.**

480. We are dealing here only with inequalities created by the lack of facilities in the minority language. Other problems arising through the lack of certain courses in the majority language are outside our terms of reference.

481. The grant we have recommended would not be considered a scholarship. It would be available to any student who met the above requirements and whose application had been accepted by the university of his choice. The grant would cover travelling expenses and would help to meet any extra cost of fees and accommodation incurred by attending a university in another province. The government of the student's home province should not be expected to provide these grants because they will represent an additional cost for education—a cost that is a direct result of the need to provide separate educational facilities for the minority-language group. In our view, such additional costs should be a federal responsibility.

482. The host university will also incur additional costs for these out-of-province students. The students will pay fees, but these will only cover a small proportion of the actual costs; the rest of the money comes from other sources, including provincial grants. Provincial governments, however, cannot be expected to finance the education of minority-language students from other provinces. These students will add a new dimension to the university as an educational institution but, if too many students come, the benefits may not be commensurate with the financial burden they impose. **We recommend for these out-of-province students that a federal grant, equivalent to the normal provincial grant to the university, be paid to the host university or to the provincial government concerned.**

483. These recommendations will go far towards providing Francophone minorities with educational opportunities equivalent to those available to the Anglophone minorities. Most of the Francophone students will be able to attend a regional university in which undergraduate and even some graduate training will be offered in French. For a programme not offered at the regional university, the student will be able to register at another French-language university where such a programme is available.

484. This still leaves unresolved, however, the thorny issue of the quality of higher education available to Francophones. Even if we assume that an equivalent range of programmes, undergraduate and graduate, will be available in the future, this apparent equality will still be illusory if the academic standards of the French-language institutions are inferior. There should be no need to emphasize the importance of this problem. The close connection between higher education and economic opportunity is generally recognized, and many of the studies undertaken by the Commission have confirmed this correlation.

The quality of
French-language
higher education

485. The problem should not be considered solely within a provincial context. The French-language universities in Canada must be seen as forming an integrated system of higher education. Students outside Quebec can only have access to a wide range of graduate instruction in French if they can attend one of the Quebec universities, and only then if the Quebec universities can offer the necessary range and quality at this level. Only Quebec offers the demographic conditions, the human resources and the cultural milieu required for the establishment of virtually complete instruction at the university level, as well as a reasonable number of genuine research centres. This is one of the areas in which Quebec does play a significant role for Francophones in all parts of Canada.

486. The need for "catching up" is especially acute at the graduate level and so will affect most directly the major French-language universities in Quebec. It is up to the government of Quebec to assume financial responsibility for speeding up the development of higher education in French in the province, while still guaranteeing the normal development of higher education in English. Outside Quebec, special assistance is needed to allow certain institutions to make up for their present retardation, in accordance with the principles discussed above. It is the proper responsibility of the provincial governments concerned to provide such supplementary aid; but if, for any reason, a province would not furnish such special help, we judge that the federal government should be able to take part in the venture, since it is that government's responsibility to protect official-language minorities throughout Canada. This principle would, of course, apply in the same way to the English-speaking minority in Quebec, should the higher education available to Quebec's Anglophones become inferior to that of the French-speaking majority.

487. We are aware of the constitutional problems involved and we hope they will eventually be resolved. The principle we have formulated must not allow the return of past difficulties concerning federal support of universities. **We recommend that, pending the resolution of the constitutional problems involved, agreements be concluded between**

Recommendation
25

the federal government and the provinces concerned in order that these provinces receive the help required to meet the special needs of their French-language universities.

C. Textbooks and Reference Books in French-language Universities

488. Special reference must be made to a problem common to all French-language universities in Canada but not shared by their Anglophone counterparts. In one sense, French-language universities even in Quebec are minority-language universities, for the pressure of the English language is a fact. Courses are given in French and examinations are written in French, but often the books assigned for reading are in English. A study prepared for the Commission shows that, at the University of Montreal, half of the books prescribed or recommended by the professors for purchase at the university bookstore in 1967-8 were in English. The proportion of English references varied among faculties and disciplines and was influenced by whether the professors were trained in French- or English-language universities, but some English books were recommended in almost all fields.¹

Reasons for use of
books in English

489. There are many reasons for this reliance on English reference books. French-language universities include many professional faculties and they organize the disciplines in the physical and social sciences along lines more similar to North American than to French universities. This often means that the most appropriate references available for a course are in English. There is a greater emphasis on the use of textbooks in North American universities, especially at the introductory level, and again this means that the most available textbook is in English rather than in French. Moreover, many aspects of recent technology, such as the use of computers in research, have been developed in the United States, and the standard references which apply this technology in many disciplines are in English. Some of these books may be translated into French and, in other cases, Francophone professors may write a reference book which is more appropriate for their students than an English book. But there are not always enough Quebec students to warrant the expense and time involved. Despite the natural preference of professors and students for books written in their own language, books written in English are widely used.

490. It is normal to expect that students in advanced courses should be able to read reference books in another language, and there are particular advantages for French-speaking Canadian students in being

¹ Jacques Brazeau, "L'utilisation de manuels de langue anglaise et de manuels de langue française à l'université de Montréal," a working paper prepared for the R.C.B. & B. The study does not include the École des hautes études commerciales or the École polytechnique.

familiar with reference books in the English language. University graduates who intend to practise their profession in North America will benefit by a knowledge of the vocabulary as well as by contact with the writings familiar to English-speaking members of their profession. In any case, the most important criterion for selecting a reference book should be the quality of the book, and students who are directed to the best works on a topic, whether they are written in French or in English, will receive a better training.

491. This massive use of English references nonetheless involves grave risks, particularly at the introductory level where a student is making his first acquaintance with a subject. The possibility is that he will be so exposed at this early stage to English writings that he will develop only an English vocabulary and an English mode of expression in this particular field. All disciplines rely on special words and expressions which convey an accepted meaning concisely. Economists know what is meant by such phrases as "the gross national product," because a definite and specific meaning has been given to this phrase. Such expressions cannot be casually translated; to communicate in French, an economist must know the exact terminology used by French economists. Without the French equivalent he can only express his ideas accurately by using the English expression. Even books translated into French will be inadequate if the translation is not sophisticated in form as well as content.¹

492. For French-speaking students in North America, the use of French-language texts in the introductory courses in any discipline is vitally important for a reason which goes beyond the actual terminology. Language is more than a means of expression; it is linked to the process of thought, the manner of organizing one's ideas. If the Francophone student is introduced to a new area of learning in a language not his own, he runs the risk of being inhibited in the use of language and also in his ability to think according to his own cultural pattern.

Need for
textbooks
in French

493. For all French-language students, the ability to benefit from exposure to books written in English will depend on a thorough command of their maternal language and an adequate knowledge of the second language. Without the former, the danger of increased exposure to English is apparent; without the latter, they will not be able to profit adequately from their courses.

494. It is probable that suitable reference books in French will become more common in the future. Increased enrolment in French-language universities in Canada will provide a larger market and so encourage the writing of reference books in French or the translation of

¹ For an analysis of this problem, see Jacques Brazeau, "Language Differences and Occupational Experience," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 24, No. 4, November 1958, 532-40.

books now available only in English. French-language universities can also benefit by closer co-operation with universities in France and other French-speaking countries, for the dependence on English references is not a problem peculiar to Francophones in North America. The predominance of American technology in many fields means that even students in France must be familiar with the literature in their discipline written in English. French-language universities throughout the world can avoid duplication of effort and can co-operate to have standard references translated or to produce and distribute references written in French.¹ This objective accounts in part for the closer liaison between educational authorities in Quebec and France. Nevertheless, the widespread use of English references will continue. Francophone students will have to have access to the best sources available, and many of these will continue to be in English. Students at French-language universities in North America will probably always be exposed to both the advantages and the risks of relying on books in both English and French.

Appropriate
measures

495. Some steps can be taken to minimize these risks, however. A special effort must be made to use French textbooks whenever suitable books are available in this language, especially at the introductory level. In some cases, references available only in English may be translated, great care being taken to ensure that the translation is French in style and form as well as vocabulary. When reference material must be read in English, French-language universities have a special obligation to ensure that their students can understand English well enough to comprehend the ideas presented. Professors who assign English textbooks must also attempt to instil in the students the equivalent specialized words and expressions of the discipline in French. With these safeguards, French-language universities, even in Quebec, will graduate students who adequately understand the books they read and who can adequately express their knowledge in their mother tongue.

496. We want to stress the importance of this language problem in all French-language universities in Canada. More research is needed to analyze the implications for the students and to mitigate the hazards. It may well be that the costs of translation and of special training in English are an inescapable burden for these universities. University authorities and provincial governments must both accept some responsibility for ascertaining the additional expenditures involved, if French-language universities are to meet this language problem. In provinces where there are French-language universities, the allocation of grants among provincial universities should then reflect this special need.

¹ A committee of AUPELF (Association des Universités partiellement ou entièrement de langue française) is now studying the problem of textbooks.

497. The costs of the official-language minority school system cannot be dissociated from the costs of an effective educational system. School attendance is already compulsory in every province to a certain age. Education in the minority language will not increase the number of students of this age group who will attend provincial schools. Classrooms must be built whether English or French is the language of instruction. Teachers must be hired and textbooks must be provided. We believe that more students than before from the French-language minority groups will continue their education beyond this compulsory age, but even this cannot be considered an additional cost. All provincial authorities encourage further education because they believe that this investment in human skills and talents is worthwhile. From this point of view, the real cost is incurred when these skills and talents are not developed. The increased enrolment of minority-language students at the secondary and post-secondary levels should therefore be seen as a social benefit and not as an additional cost.

498. This does not mean that there will be no extra costs. It will sometimes be more expensive to have the students divided into two streams, French and English, than it would be to have a single system. In some communities the division of the student body into two streams may mean that a secondary school will fall below the optimum size. If we assume, for example, that the optimum size of a secondary school is 1,000 students, the cost per student will be slightly higher if a school is built for only 700 students. When the cost per pupil is higher because of the division of the student body into two language streams, this additional cost can be attributed to the existence of minority-language schools.

Additional costs

499. The division of the student body into two streams will also affect the educational system of which the school is a part. At the administrative level there will be divisions or sections within the department of Education with a special responsibility for the minority-language schools, and the department will be accordingly larger because of this specialization. Some translation will also be necessary for departmental memoranda and regulations as well as for textbooks and teaching aids. There may be additional costs for teacher training if the minority-language training institution is smaller than the optimum size. Salaries will be slightly higher for teachers with special certificates to teach in minority-language schools.

500. These incremental costs will only be incurred when the division of the student body into two language streams prevents the economies possible when the numbers of students are large; thus they cannot be easily calculated. It would be possible to conduct a study, community by community, and calculate the respective costs of a single majority-language system and the dual-language system we have recommended, but this accounting procedure would not reflect the efficiency of the two systems in pedagogical terms. Even today, most provinces group Francophone and Anglophone students separately, at least in the first years of school. It would be a false economy to place them all in the same classroom because they would learn less. The extra costs cannot be attributed to the minority-language education we have recommended but to the fact that these minorities exist and cannot be effectively educated in any other way.

Extent of federal
responsibility

501. Who should pay for these additional expenditures? Provincial governments are responsible for the basic costs of education, and it can be argued that the cost of providing a suitable education for the provincial minority is included in this responsibility. It must be remembered, however, that provincial authorities cannot meet all demands for educational services simultaneously. They must establish priorities based on the needs of all students in the province. They may decide to give higher priority to the educational needs of underprivileged children in urban areas. From a national perspective, however, the minority-language students have a higher priority, because minority-language schools are essential if Canada's bilingual and bicultural character is to be confirmed.

Recommendation
26

502. The objective of a suitable education for the minority-language students is shared by both provincial and federal authorities, but the federal government has special reasons for having this education provided as soon as possible. This does not mean that the federal government should pay for minority-language schools; the basic costs of education must remain a provincial responsibility. But it is reason-

able to expect that the federal government should reimburse the provincial government for the *extra* costs involved. In this way the provincial authorities will be able to provide minority-language schools within the province as part of the normal programme of educational services. **We recommend that the federal government accept in principle the responsibility for the additional costs involved in providing education in the official minority language.**

503. This recommendation refers only to a responsibility in principle because, as we have suggested, there is no satisfactory way of establishing exactly the additional cost involved. At the same time, we wish to avoid the undesirable aspects of grants-in-aid. Education is a provincial responsibility and federal grants-in-aid could influence educational policies and thus encroach on provincial autonomy in this field. This would clearly be the case if the federal government defined the kinds of minority-language instruction eligible for federal assistance, with federal officials inspecting the schools before the grant was authorized. Our recommendation does not involve federal intervention. The federal grant will be designed to reimburse provincial governments for additional expenses incurred in providing minority-language education. There will be no supervision of provincial education by federal authorities, and there will be no strings attached to the grant received by provincial governments.

A. Elementary and Secondary Official-language Minority Schools

504. For each province, it is easy to ascertain the average cost per pupil at the elementary and secondary levels. Departments of Education publish these statistics annually. This average cost represents the basic expenditure, whether the language of instruction is French or English. As we have pointed out, it would be difficult to apply accounting procedures to establish precisely the extra costs involved when education is provided in the two languages. Since the estimate of the additional costs by any procedure will only be an approximation, we have adopted a single basis for calculating the federal grant. **We recommend that the federal grant to each province be based on the number of students attending official-language minority schools in the province, and that the grant be 10 per cent of the average cost of education per student within the province.**

505. There should be no difficulty in calculating this grant. Minority-language schools will be the schools in which the minority language is the chief language of instruction, and in the case of parallel-curriculum schools only the student being taught in the minority language will be

Recommendation
27

included. These schools will be classified separately for administrative reasons at the departmental level so that the provincial authorities will be able to supply the average daily attendance without any difficulty. The usual distinction will be made between elementary, secondary, and post-secondary students (excluding universities) and the grant will be based on the average cost per student at each level within the province. The figure of 10 per cent is admittedly an arbitrary figure. It is, however, a figure we arrived at after discussions with experts in educational finance and we are convinced that it is a close approximation.

506. We have recommended a percentage of the average cost per student within each province. It would have been possible to use the national rather than the provincial averages. This would have meant larger grants for the poorer provinces and smaller grants for the wealthier provinces and so would have incorporated a degree of equalization in the grant formula. Our aim, however, is to ensure equivalent educational facilities for all minority- and majority-language students within the present jurisdiction of educational responsibility, which is the province. It may be desirable to equalize educational opportunities for all students in all provinces, but this issue goes beyond our terms of reference. Our immediate concern is with minority-language students within the context of provincial educational systems.

B. Teacher Training

Recommendation
28

507. Teacher-training institutions are a special case. In Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick, the large number of teachers required for minority-language schools means that the facilities for training them would be required in any case, and the extra cost again becomes a small proportion of the total cost of these institutions. Capital costs, however, which for public schools are included in the average cost per student, may be kept separate in the financial statements for teacher-training institutions. Capital costs would include buildings, equipment, and special library purchases not included in the normal operating budget. **We recommend that the federal grant to Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick be based on the number of students attending official minority-language teacher-training institutions, and that the grant be 10 per cent of the cost per student, together with 10 per cent of the capital costs incurred for such institutions in the future.**

Provincial
co-operation

508. In the other provinces the cost of training teachers for minority-language schools will be proportionately higher because the number of teachers involved would not normally justify a separate teacher-training institution. We have recommended that the Teachers' College at

Moncton should serve the Atlantic provinces and that a teachers' college attached to a French-language college affiliated to a western university should serve the four western provinces. The province in which the teachers' college is located will have a cost-sharing agreement with the other provinces concerned. The federal grant for these institutions will again be based on the principle of reimbursing the provinces for the additional costs involved.

509. Even when the French-language teacher-training candidates from the four western provinces are grouped together in one institution, the number involved will be small and the additional costs will be high. Even in the Atlantic provinces there will be extra costs for administration and for adapting the training programme of the Teachers' College; the teachers from the Atlantic provinces other than New Brunswick will have to be prepared for different educational systems and for teaching curricula which will not be identical. Because of these additional costs, the federal grant will have to cover a higher proportion of the total cost of training these students. Therefore, **we recommend that for students attending the French-language teacher-training institution for the western provinces and for Francophone students from Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia attending the Teachers' College at Moncton, the federal grant to the province be 25 per cent of the cost per student. We further recommend that, for the western provinces, the federal grant should cover 75 per cent of the capital costs of the training institution. For the Teachers' College at Moncton, the grant should cover 50 per cent of the capital costs which can be attributed to out-of-province students.**

Recommendation
29

C. Universities

510. The cost of minority-language universities—like those of the other educational institutions we have been discussing—cannot be considered an extra cost to the province. There would be costs even if these students were being educated in the majority language. The additional cost is again only the proportion of the total cost which can be attributed to the duplication made necessary by separating the students into two language streams at this level. **We recommend that for official minority-language universities the federal grant to the province be equal to 10 per cent of the provincial grants, whether operating or capital grants, made to these universities.** In the case of bilingual universities, the federal grant would be based on the proportion of the provincial grant which can be attributed to minority-language education.

Recommendation
30

D. Conclusion

511. It will be noted that so far in this Book we have been concerned with education for the minority-language group and have not proposed recommendations directed to majority-language education. It would have been possible to have approached the inquiry differently and to have made a study of the whole field of education insofar as the aims of bilingualism and biculturalism are concerned. This would have extended the Commission's work enormously, and would be a sufficiently large undertaking to justify a separate study. It seemed to us that we could more realistically circumscribe the inquiry and satisfy our terms of reference—equal partnership between the two language groups and opportunities for Canadians to become bilingual—by limiting ourselves to two precise areas of the question: education in the official minority language and second-language learning. The pages which follow will deal with the present situation in regard to opportunities for Canadians to become bilingual, and recommendations designed to extend these opportunities.

512. The good effect of the new course in French is very noticeable and the policy of requiring the students to become acquainted with French, a living tongue, and to use it in speech as well as for reading, has already been amply justified. It is safe to say that within a year or two high-school students on leaving school for business or the University will carry with them a real training in French which will prove vastly more useful to them than a mere grammar and reading course in that language could possibly be. Many teachers are making an effort to live up to the ideal of using French as the language of instruction during the teaching periods in that branch.

This optimistic statement could have appeared in the latest annual report of any provincial department of Education in Canada. The objective of all departments is to teach French as a living language, with an emphasis on oral skills rather than grammar and translation, and the new methods being introduced are intended to transform second-language teaching in the schools. In fact, this statement appeared in the annual report of the Manitoba department of Education in 1920, almost half a century ago. The objective—and the optimism—are not peculiar to our generation.

513. The sobering fact is that in the past the objective has not been attained and the optimism has not been justified. There was general agreement in the briefs presented to us that our English-language schools are not graduating students who can speak French. Most graduates of these schools would echo the dissatisfaction recently expressed by a teacher in an English Protestant school in Quebec:

Objectives
not achieved

Why is it that our pupils spend nine years, from Grade 3 to Grade 11, studying French, and when they come out of school most of them are afraid, unwilling or unable to use the language in practical situations? It seems a little strange to me: nine years of studying French and still no

fluency with the language even among academically-minded pupils! This in spite of the stated aims of the Department of Education. . . .¹

They might be reassured to some extent by the reply of an official to the effect that much had been done to improve the situation and that more reforms were planned.² Until now, however, there has been little justification for complacency.

514. The teaching of English as a second language to Francophones is also open to criticism. We received briefs deploring the fact that Francophones did not learn to speak English adequately. The *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*—the Parent report—supports this claim: “When one thinks that a normal *bachelier* from our classical colleges after eight years of English is often incapable of speaking or reading it . . . it seems urgent to look into the quality of the foreign-language teaching in our province.”³

515. These criticisms may be exaggerated. We may all be inclined to demand too much of our schools; the same people who are critical of second-language teaching would probably also criticize the teaching of the mother tongue or of other subjects. And these criticisms are not peculiar to Canada. The same criticisms have been levelled against second-language teaching in the United States and even a quotation from *Pravda* has a familiar ring: “In the main, graduates of general education schools and higher and specialized secondary institutions have a poor knowledge of foreign languages. Because of their limited vocabulary and a purely academic knowledge of grammar, they are unable to translate foreign language texts without dictionaries. They are particularly weak when it comes to speaking a foreign language.”⁴ It is difficult to acquire skill in speaking a second language, and it is not likely that many will ever be fully satisfied with the results of second-language teaching in the public schools.

New programmes

516. Behind all these comments, however, is the shared belief that a knowledge of a second language—and especially an ability to converse in a second language—is worth the effort. This is reflected in the enthusiasm of provincial authorities for new methods and new programmes. Indeed, one of the major difficulties we encountered in our survey of second-language teaching in the school systems across

¹ E. A. Thériault, “Let’s Take a Hard Look at our Teaching of French,” *The Teachers’ Magazine* (November, 1965), 11.

² B. N. Shaw in reply to Thériault; *Ibid.*, 11.

³ *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, III (Montreal, 1965), § 685. This is from the official English version of the Parent report; however, the original French refers to “...la qualité de cet enseignement de la langue seconde...” [Italics ours.]

⁴ Cited in E. Glynn Lewis, *Foreign and Second Language Teaching in the U.S.S.R.*, ETIC Occasional Paper, No. 1, 1962.

Canada was that in every province the programmes were undergoing major revisions. New curricula, new methods, and new equipment were being introduced, with a larger number of experimental projects being initiated by both provincial and local school authorities. A high priority is certainly being given to second-language teaching in the schools. At the same time, the criticisms reflect the increasing importance given to this teaching, for the critics began with the assumption that children ought to acquire second-language skills.

A. Attitudes towards Teaching the Second Language

517. The logical beginning of any discussion of second-language teaching in Canada is to note that most Canadians believe that a second language should be taught in the schools and that it should be the second official language of the country. A number of opinion surveys confirm this conclusion. Two surveys conducted by the Gallup Poll suggest not only that Canadians give great importance to the learning of the second official language—French or English—but also that this attitude has strengthened remarkably over the last few decades. In 1943 Canadians were asked: “Do you or do you not think that French should be a compulsory subject, like reading, writing and arithmetic, in all grades of public schools in English-speaking Canada?” This posed the question in its most direct form—those who merely thought French was desirable but did not think it should be compulsory for all grades would oppose such a policy. In this survey of more than 20 years ago, 36 per cent of those interviewed replied in the affirmative and 59 per cent in the negative. In 1965, however, in reply to the same question, 64 per cent answered “yes” and only 33 per cent answered “no.” To the related question in the same survey of whether English should be a compulsory subject in all grades of public schools in French-speaking Canada, the response was even more decisive, with 84 per cent in favour and only 13 per cent opposed. If we assume that this was a representative sample, we can conclude that most Canadians believe that students ought to study the second language of the country in all grades.

Public support
increasing

518. Surveys conducted by our own research staff led to a similar conclusion. In a national survey¹ we asked: “Do you think that in Canada, English-speaking children should learn French in primary school?” This question elicited an even more positive response than the question posed by the Gallup Poll, possibly because in our sur-

¹ Social Research Group, “A Study of Interethnic Relations in Canada,” a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B. See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, footnote to § 279.

vey French was not explicitly referred to as a compulsory subject although the implication was clear. In any case, 79 per cent of the sample replied affirmatively and only 15 per cent were definitely opposed. For the question as to whether Francophones should learn English in primary school, 92 per cent were in favour and only 5 per cent opposed.¹

519. It could be argued that adults would be more inclined to favour the compulsory teaching of the second language in the schools because they no longer go to school. It is easy to suggest that children should learn things that parents never had to learn, but this may be doing the parents an injustice. Again from our national survey, 61 per cent of the English-speaking Canadians said they would like to learn to speak French or to improve their French, and 78 per cent of the French-speaking Canadians wanted to learn or to improve their English. In a national survey of young people between the ages of 13 and 20, 65 per cent of the Anglophones and 86 per cent of the Francophones thought that both English and French should be required subjects in all schools.²

520. A further analysis of these results shows that this positive attitude towards second-language learning is shared by Canadians with widely differing backgrounds. A breakdown of our national sample showed a slightly higher support for the teaching of the second language from people under the age of 50, from people with higher income, and from people with more education. More than 90 per cent of the Francophones in the sample favoured the teaching of the second official language, whether the students involved were Anglophones or Francophones. Among the non-Francophones in the sample, 90 per cent favoured the teaching of English to Francophone children, and more than 70 per cent favoured the teaching of French to Anglophone children. The regional breakdown showed greater differences, with Canadians from the western provinces showing less interest in the teaching of French as a second language. Even there, however, 66 per cent were in favour, and only 25 per cent were opposed. The differences revealed by these breakdowns on the national sample are differences of degree; in every case, a sizable majority believed that students ought to study the second Canadian language.

Advantages of
learning a second
language

521. There are many advantages to learning a second language. A second language has been described as another window on the world, because it gives access to a different culture and a different way of

¹ In this survey, the breakdown of the sample by mother tongue showed that among French-speaking respondents, 94 per cent answered affirmatively to the first question and 95 per cent to the second. Of the respondents whose mother tongue was English, 73 per cent responded affirmatively to the first and 90 per cent to the second. The comparable percentages for those whose mother tongue was neither French nor English were 64 per cent and 90 per cent respectively.

² John C. Johnstone, "Young People's Images of Canadian society," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

looking at life. Indeed, in many eras and many countries the knowledge of a second language was the mark of an educated man, and in wealthy households there might be a foreign slave or, later, a foreign tutor or governess to teach the language. Today we believe that all children should be educated and should have the opportunity to broaden their cultural horizons.

522. Second-language learning also has more utilitarian benefits. There is a growing demand for bilingual citizens in every country because of increasing commercial and diplomatic contacts with other countries. Improved methods of transportation and higher standards of living have made it easier for individuals to visit foreign countries. When few people travelled and when commercial transactions were conducted by correspondence, a reading knowledge of a language was sufficient. The conversational skills have become more useful in the age of the communications satellites and jetliners. Whether the emphasis is literary or oral, however, foreign languages have always had a prominent place in school curricula in most countries. Today, on all continents with the possible exception of North America, the study of a second language is as much taken for granted as the study of geography or mathematics.

523. It is fortunate, if fortuitous, that the two official languages of Canada are at the same time two of the most important international languages. If all Canadians were Francophones, most of them would still choose English as the most useful second language to learn. It is equally true that if all Canadians were Anglophones, most of them would choose French as the most useful second language; French has retained its popularity as a second language in the United States in spite of the close links with Spanish-speaking countries in the western hemisphere.¹ Not only are there powerful pressures for learning a second language—pressures unconnected with the language situation within Canada—but these pressures favour the learning of French or English as second languages.

524. In Canada, of course, these pressures are reinforced by the existence of the two major language groups. Every time members of the two groups meet one another, the advantages of knowing the second language are abundantly apparent. These contacts are becoming more frequent as individuals become more mobile and as our social institutions change. The growth of government activities, the expansion

¹ Between 1959 and 1963, 15,617 teachers were enrolled in the language institutes administered under the U.S. National Defense Education Act. Of these teachers, 6,399 studied French, 6,275 studied Spanish, 1,842 studied German, 827 studied Russian, and the remaining 274 were divided among the four other languages offered. See John S. Diekhoff, *NDEA and Modern Foreign Languages* (New York, 1965), 86.

of business corporations, and the concentration of people in metropolitan areas are all likely to increase the contacts between members of the two language groups.

525. The need or the opportunity for individuals to use the second language in Canada will vary greatly. A secretary in British Columbia is not likely to feel the need or have the opportunity to use French. In Montreal a teacher may not need to speak the second language, although he would have the opportunity. Even in these cases, however, a lack of knowledge of the second language may impose certain restrictions. The secretary would not have the same mobility as her bilingual counterpart because she would not be eligible for many secretarial positions in bilingual areas or in the federal Public Service. The unilingual teacher will be excluded from many aspects of social life in Montreal, and he may lose career opportunities in school administration. For many individuals, these disadvantages are not significant. For some Canadians, to be bilingual is a necessity; for others it is a significant asset. It is still true, however, that many Canadians can live the kind of life they prefer without using the second language.

526. For the average Canadian child the advantages of learning the second language are more obvious. Today's child will live in a mobile and highly competitive society. What parent in 1968 can know with any certainty where his child will live in the year 2000, or even what career opportunities his child will have? It is apparent, however, that the child who learns French or English as a second language will have career opportunities that other children will not have. Learning a second language is also a valuable educational experience because it brings the child into contact with a different culture. In Canada, such contact can provide our children with knowledge and appreciation of the culture of many other Canadians. Another great advantage of second-language learning in schools is that languages are more easily learned at an early age, and language skills acquired young may be regained with greater ease after a long period of disuse. Indeed, there are many arguments for teaching the second language to all Canadian children in school. Taken together they appear irrefutable.

B. Second-language Teaching and the National Interest

527. The most cogent arguments in favour of teaching French and English as second languages are the benefits to the individual. There are, however, other broader arguments which are also important in Canada. Language learning can increase the number of bilingual Canadians and so reduce the language barrier in our country. It can also

play a significant role in increasing the mutual understanding of the attitudes and aspirations of the two cultural groups.

528. The need for bilingual Canadians is apparent, and this results in increasing pressures on individuals to learn the second language. But bilingualism is a complex phenomenon. Bilingualism in the sense of having an equal command of two languages is exceptional, if not practically impossible. Some people may acquire only the receptive skills of understanding the written or spoken language. This form of receptive bilingualism, limited though it may be, nonetheless gives access to ideas expressed in the second language and may be sufficient on many occasions. Even the bilingual person who can also write and speak the second language may not be as fluent or as sophisticated in that language as in his own. Individual bilingualism is not an absolute. It is and must be a relative concept.¹ The need for bilingual Canadians, therefore, does not imply that these Canadians should always aspire to an equal command of the two languages. For some, receptive bilingualism will be adequate. Others will need the ability to communicate in the second language but they need not become as proficient as they are in their first language.

Need for bilingual
Canadians

529. In the past, a large proportion of bilingual Canadians have been Francophones who have learned English. As members of a minority group they have been more likely to come into contact with English, and the economic and cultural predominance of English has given many of them more incentive to learn the second language. This does not mean that they can learn English effortlessly, but it does mean that they have had more opportunities to learn it and may have taken more advantage of their opportunities. The pervasiveness of English is not an unmixed blessing. The advantage of a greater opportunity to learn English may be counterbalanced by the danger of losing the full use of the French mother tongue. English words, English phrases, and English grammatical construction may become so much a part of the normal speech of a Francophone that the standard of his French deteriorates. Bilingualism for French-speaking Canadians demands an effort to learn the second language but it also demands an effort to preserve the mother tongue.

Francophones
and bilingualism

530. Bilingualism also involves hidden costs for individuals who act as intermediaries between the two language groups. If bilingual Francophones are expected to provide the links between these groups, their own careers may be affected. A Francophone employee often faces a personal dilemma. He may be asked to interpret or translate something from French or to draft a French translation of a letter

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, I, §§ 4-16.*

Anglophones
and bilingualism

or document; because his Anglophone colleagues are not bilingual he may end up by constantly translating the ideas of others rather than contributing his own. His other talents will not be developed because somebody must play the role of intermediary.

531. The loss is not confined to the individual. As long as most bilingual Canadians are of French mother tongue, many members of this group will be absorbed in interpreting their society to English-speaking Canadians and interpreting English-speaking Canada to their compatriots. The potential benefits of their other talents will be lost and Canadian society will be the poorer as a result. The skills of interpretation and translation are an asset in Canada, but the principle of equal partnership implies that the intermediaries will be drawn from both groups. More Anglophones must become bilingual if French-speaking Canadians are to play a more creative role in Canadian society. Official bilingualism in Ontario and New Brunswick, for instance, and in the federal Public Service, will not be a reality unless there are sufficient numbers of Anglophones capable of conducting business in French as well as in English.¹

532. The study of the second language also offers indirect benefits for our society. Not all Canadians can be bilingual even in a limited sense, but we are all citizens of a country with two major cultural groups. Political decisions in Canada must be made in the context of our cultural dualism, and each Canadian must be able to assess the implications of these decisions if he is to play a responsible role as a citizen. A person who studies the second language will have some contact with the modes of thought and expression of the other linguistic group and he will learn something of its cultural heritage and way of life. The awareness of the other society will survive even if the language skills are lost.

C. Conclusion

533. The need for second-language teaching cannot be seriously questioned. The majority of Canadians are aware of this need and feel that all children should study either French or English as a second language in school. The national interest also underlines the need for Canadian children to study the second official language. The question, therefore, is not so much whether it should be taught but rather how it can be better taught.

¹ In a sample survey of federal public servants between 25 and 45 years of age and earning more than \$6,200 per year—a group which might be called the middle level of administration—18 per cent of the Francophones but only 1.8 per cent of the Anglophones in the survey were translators. The contrast at the informal level of translation is doubtless even greater.

534. The importance of teaching the second official language has long been recognized by Canadian educational authorities. This language has a prominent place in every provincial curriculum, and in each province the second-language programme has undergone major revisions in recent years. The new methods, new techniques, and new teaching aids have undoubtedly improved second-language teaching, but the rate of change has created many problems. A student may encounter a variety of approaches to the subject in his school career. A teacher may have to adapt to a new concept of language teaching every few years. Even more seriously during this period of change, the aims, methods, and teaching aids may not be integrated into a unified programme. Aims may even be inconsistent with methods, and approved aims and methods may be no more than pious aspirations if the necessary teaching aids are not available.

535. A survey of the teaching of French and English as second languages in Canadian schools will show how much has been accomplished in recent years. Similar developments are taking place in all provinces, despite the many differences in detail and emphasis.¹

A. Second-language Programmes

1. The teaching of French

536. French as a subject of study in the English-language schools of Canada is compulsory only in certain provinces and in certain

French as a
compulsory
second language

¹ The material on which this survey is based was largely supplied by the provincial departments of Education. We wish to express our gratitude for their generous co-operation. Appendix III contains a separate and more detailed description of the second-language teaching programme of each province.

grades. Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island require French in the high school years but only in the matriculation course. In New Brunswick it is part of the course of study for all students in Grades v to x, and in Quebec it is compulsory in all branches from Grade iii in the English Protestant schools and Grade iv in the English Roman Catholic schools to the end of high school, usually Grade xi. In the remaining provinces French is not a required subject, except in Grade viii in British Columbia.

537. At the post-secondary level, a number of universities and colleges require a second language for admission to some faculties, but only a handful specify French for this purpose. Similarly, where there is a second-language requirement for graduation, French is usually just one of a number of language electives.

French as an
optional subject

538. French as an optional subject is by far the main second language taught in English-language schools in Canada. It is usually begun earlier than other second languages such as German, Ukrainian, Latin, Spanish, Italian, and Russian. It is studied in virtually all the academic high schools of English-speaking Canada.¹ In vocational and technical courses French is not usually offered, which means that large numbers of young Anglophones do not have even the opportunity to learn the other official language.

At the elementary
level

539. In recent years there has been a significant extension of second-language instruction downwards to the elementary grades. This trend is most marked in urban school systems, where necessary funds and qualified personnel are most likely to be available. As a result, there is often considerable variation within a single province in the grade level at which language instruction may begin in the elementary schools.

540. The situation in Alberta will serve to illustrate the generally permissive nature of second-language programmes and the heterogeneous results they may produce. In Calgary and Edmonton there is a nine-year training sequence beginning in Grade iv. In other urban centres, French is usually begun as an exploratory option in Grade vii, but in the counties and divisions it may not be begun until Grade ix. It is still possible, however, for a student to begin French in Grade x and obtain matriculation standing in the subject after three years of study.

541. In Manitoba, French has been authorized as an elective subject from the very first grade, but only one year of French is required

¹ In some provinces, there are still hundreds of students in rural schools following French courses by correspondence.

as a prerequisite for senior French starting in Grade x. The situation is no less fluid in other provinces.

542. The following table shows the percentage enrolment by province for the year 1966-7 in matriculation French classes between Grades ix and xii. The figures shown are based on data provided by provincial departments of Education and in some cases are rough but realistic estimates. The table does not justify interprovincial comparisons—Grade xii is not the final year of secondary school in all provinces—but the figures do suggest a broad pattern for the country as a whole.

Enrolment

	Grade ix	Grade x	Grade xi	Grade xii
British Columbia	72%	65%	55%	25%
Alberta	—	64	51	38
Saskatchewan	75	70	60	60
Manitoba	78	63	65	72
Ontario	—	—	—	86
Quebec (Protestant)	C	C	C	63
Quebec (Roman Catholic)	C	C	C	—
New Brunswick (English)	C	C	Most	—
Nova Scotia	97	82	88	69
Prince Edward Island	—	—	—	—
Newfoundland	C	C	C	—

The following points about the table should be noted:

- (a) A dash indicates that no statistics are available.
- (b) A "C" indicates that the study of the second language is compulsory.
- (c) Most students in Newfoundland and Quebec finish high school in Grade xi. Anglophone students in New Brunswick write their matriculation French examinations in Grade xi.

543. The remarkable fact underlined by these statistics is that a high proportion of Anglophone students are studying French as a second language, even in provinces and grades where it is not compulsory.

2. The teaching of English

544. English is a compulsory subject in all French-language schools in Canada. In Quebec, the teaching of English usually begins in Grade vi, although the starting grade may be advanced to Grade iv or retarded to Grade viii with ministerial approval. It is taught in all subsequent grades and in all streams until the end of high school. In the minority-language schools of New Brunswick, and in "bilingual" schools in the other provinces, English is usually introduced in the

second semester of Grade I and is a compulsory subject from then until graduation from high school.

3. *Time allotment*

545. In the case of both French and English as second languages, our discussion has been restricted to the grades in which the subject is taught. This is imprecise and may even be misleading because the amount of time devoted to language study may vary widely from province to province and from grade to grade. A more reliable indicator would be the amount of exposure to the second language in terms of instructional hours. Unfortunately it is difficult to be precise. The actual timetable is often the responsibility of the local school principal. Elementary classes may meet for 20 or 30 minutes from two to five times a week. In the early years of high school a daily period of 30 to 40 minutes is common, and there may be additional periods in higher grades. The longest compulsory programme of second-language instruction is found in the Protestant schools of Quebec, where the average student receives a total of 975 hours of instruction during his school career.

4. *Aims*

Increasing
emphasis on
oral skills

546. In the past, the objectives of provincial programmes for the teaching of modern languages have been stated in very general terms, such as the ability to understand, speak, read, and write the target language. In many provinces today, however, the programme lays special emphasis on the spoken language. In Ontario, for example, the course of study for the elementary level stresses "the ability to understand spoken French and to express one's ideas in this language." Courses of study often also include developing an acquaintance with and an appreciation of the culture of Canadians who speak the second language as their mother tongue.

547. It has not been easy to achieve these aims. The traditional emphasis on grammar and translation cannot be modified by a mere statement of objectives. Until teachers have special training in the methodology of language instruction and some fluency in the language they are teaching, much of the classroom time will still be spent in talking about the second language rather than talking in it. The new emphasis on oral-aural skills is likely to be ignored in any case as long as provincial examinations continue to be based on knowledge of grammar and translation. Indeed, it is not too much to say that it is the departmental examination rather than the official statement of aims which determines, in practice, the goals of instruction.

548. A very profound change is taking place, however. This change has so far been confined mainly to elementary schools and in many cases it has been due to local initiative rather than to departmental prescription. This change is now spreading into the junior high schools and its impact is even being felt in senior grades. The new audio-lingual and audio-visual courses have arrived, and with them has come a restatement of objectives giving priority to the teaching of language for purposes of oral communication.

549. The study guide for the new Grade VII and VIII French programme in Ontario reflects this trend towards an almost exclusively oral approach in the early stages of language study. It is only in the second year of instruction that any written work is begun, and even here it is confined to the repetition of what has been previously heard and said. The linguistic aims are stated with precision, appropriate methods and procedures are designated, and the vocabulary and structures to be taught are listed. The importance of developing favourable attitudes in the pupils towards the language and culture of French Canada is stressed. The new French programme in Alberta follows a similar design, recommending that the grammatical patterns and vocabulary presented throughout the elementary and high school courses be limited to those contained in *Le français fondamental*.¹ The Alberta programme also suggests that the course in French can be of value to any student interested in a second language, and that it should therefore be open to all students regardless of academic ability.

550. For some 25 years, the stated aim of the French study programme in Quebec Protestant schools has been to develop oral skills so that students will be able to communicate readily with their Francophone compatriots. To further develop oral facility, the present official *Handbook for Teachers* recommends that such subjects as geography, history, and health be taught in French where competent teachers are available. Unfortunately, this is rarely done because so few teachers of these subjects are able or willing to teach in French.

551. It is now generally realized that the widespread adoption of oral-aural courses in the elementary and junior high school grades will require a re-examination of objectives in senior high school classes. Because of limited teaching and practice time, grammar and translation must receive less emphasis if the oral skills are to be maintained and nurtured. The tendency so far at the senior secondary level has been to retain the requirement for detailed knowledge of the written

Need for revision
of programmes

¹ France, Ministère de l'éducation nationale, *Le français fondamental, (1^{er} degré)* (2nd ed., Paris, 1959), a list of frequently occurring words and expressions derived from a survey of everyday speech and based on hundreds of conversations with French people in various walks of life.

language while attempting at the same time to satisfy the relatively new requirement for proficiency in listening and speaking. More and more, however, it is realized that the new objectives cannot be grafted on to the existing courses of study. A complete revision of the second-language programme is required.

5. Curricula, texts, methods

552. In describing the methods and textbooks in use across Canada for second-language teaching, we will begin with the traditional courses that are authorized in the vast majority of schools. The newer audio-lingual courses whose use is still permissive will be treated separately. We will examine the role of technological aids in Canadian language classrooms and review the current methods of evaluation in provincial examinations. Finally, to complete the survey of second-language programmes, we will discuss the changes contemplated by provincial authorities.

Textbooks

553. The French textbook is the main—almost the only—contact with the French language for the great majority of English-speaking students. The type of text used is, therefore, of prime importance in determining the attitudes that students develop towards the language and the people who speak it. For some years now the French textbook used in Canadian schools has had a certain shape with which the reader will be familiar. Each lesson begins with a reading selection and is followed by a grammar section in which structure is explained by rule and example. Vocabulary is presented in bilingual word lists. Substitution and completion exercises are provided and there are a number of detached sentences for translation, each one containing one or two grammatical chestnuts. The preponderant emphasis in such a format is on the written aspects of language. This leads to the false notion that French is something found mainly in books. Such texts have not produced bilingual students in the past; they cannot be expected to do so in the future.

Cultural content

554. Nearly all of the second-language texts, both French and English, in current use in Canada are of British, American, or French origin. Some have been adapted—often very inadequately—to Canadian needs. Many French-language textbooks refer only to France. The pictures and illustrations, stories and reading selections, geographical and historical references all refer to another country and to a remote society. When there are references to Quebec, the image presented is usually based on folklore or rural life. Rarely will English-speaking students learn of modern Quebec, and they will almost never hear of French-speaking communities within their own province. In

Quebec, the textbooks used until quite recently to teach English in the first three years of high school were designed in the late 1930's to teach English to tribal natives in Africa. They have since been replaced by American texts which, although not Canadian in content, are based on recent linguistic research.

555. In the French-language schools of New Brunswick, the English texts used are those designed for Anglophones at an earlier grade level—Grade I books for Grade III, and so on. This makeshift arrangement is not satisfactory, especially in rural areas where students often live in a completely French-language milieu. A programme designed for Anglophones is not appropriate for students who will be learning English as a second language.

556. The supplementary readers and authors texts used in second-language courses are also far from ideal. Stories from Maupassant and other 19th-century writers still form the bulk of many anthologies for teaching French literature in the senior high school grades. These stories are excellent as literature and, as such, are appreciated by the best pupils. But intensive study of such authors neither provides the pupils with the up-to-date vocabulary they require, nor fosters the rapid reading skills they need at this stage of their language development. This is the more lamentable because the volume of outside reading accomplished by most students is slight, and hence they do not develop the ability to read rapidly for comprehension in the second language. Fortunately, more modern reading material, expository as well as narrative, is beginning to appear in the new reading texts. The inclusion of French Canadian authors is also becoming more frequent. The English reading material used in the French-language schools of Quebec is also drawn from the 19th century, with abridged versions of stories by such authors as Mark Twain and Louisa May Alcott.

Supplementary
readings

557. The methods employed in Canadian second-language classes are the product of many variables. These include the aims of the course, the competence and training of the teacher, the time available for lesson preparation, the materials to be taught, the teaching aids available, and—by no means least—the nature of the departmental examination. Many of our language teachers lack the desired fluency, and have had no training in the various techniques. For them the problem of methods does not arise: they simply “follow the book” and “do the best they can,” and spend most of their time teaching in the vernacular. In any case, the time that can be devoted to oral practice—course aims notwithstanding—is limited. This is particularly true at the senior high school level where the grammar prescription remains heavy, despite the increased emphasis on listening and speaking. In

Methods

such circumstances it is not surprising that the harassed teacher is inclined to stress those skills normally tested by examinations.

558. This cursory concern for the oral skills is inadequate because the audio-lingual method assumes that the logical sequence of language learning is to begin with these skills, and that subsequent learning should be built on the knowledge acquired in this way. Robert Lado in *Language Teaching* states that the audio-lingual (or aural-oral) method "considers listening and speaking the first and central task in learning a language, and reading and writing as skills that follow listening and speaking."¹ He describes the new linguistic approach as: "characterized by imitation and memorization of basic conversational sentences as spoken by native speakers; description of the distinctive elements of intonation, pronunciation, morphology, and syntax on the basis of the sentences memorized; and massive practice in speaking and listening rather than in translation."²

Audio-lingual
approach

559. The textbooks designed for audio-lingually based courses are very different from traditional texts. Instead of bilingual word lists, vocabulary is learned in the context of whole utterances in the second language. There are basic sentences and phrases to be learned by heart and to be recombined later into new groupings; there are sections for structure drills, for laboratory work, for class work, for reading and writing, and for tests. There are wordbooks and records for individual home study. The teacher's manual is usually a ponderous volume providing detailed information on techniques of presentation, correction, and reinforcement. Separate texts for cultural studies are also available—either in the vernacular or in the target language. The literature readings for the senior classes are found in various forms. Edited texts have visible vocabularies in the margins or at the foot of the page (sometimes bilingual, sometimes with explanations in the second language only). Bilingual books in which there is a full translation on each facing page are also becoming common, though there is still controversy about their use.

560. Two important American audio-lingual courses that are used fairly widely in Canada are AUDIO-LINGUAL MATERIALS (ALM)³ and the (HRW) AURAL-ORAL FRENCH SERIES.⁴ The former, a four-level sequential course, was made possible by funds provided through the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) in the United States between 1959 and 1964. The materials have been thoroughly field tested and the course is now widely used in the United States. In 1966 it was intro-

¹ Robert Lado, *Language Teaching* (Toronto, 1964), 214.

² *Ibid.*, 218.

³ Published by Longmans Canada Ltd.

⁴ Published by Holt, Rinehart, Winston of Canada Ltd.

duced into the Toronto public schools and it is now used in many centres across the country.

561. The HRW three-course sequence originated in the intensive language courses developed for the United States Army in World War II. The first-level course of the series was published in Canada in 1966, but only the song section was revised to include some Canadian material. Future Canadian editions are being planned. All Manitoba junior high schools that offer French are now using the HRW materials. They are also being used with special permission at certain points in Ontario and elsewhere.

562. A third course widely used in Canada is VOIX ET IMAGES DE FRANCE (VIF), first and second phases.¹ This approach is audio-visual, involving the use of filmstrips synchronized with spoken material on tape. It is audio-lingual as well, since the early part of the course is confined strictly to listening and speaking. The advantage of the simultaneous presentation of pictures and sound is that the former keep the learner aware of the meaning of what he is hearing and repeating. Without such visual props there is the danger in aural-oral work that the learner will merely parrot what he hears without thinking of its semantic content.

563. The course is well provided with supports. For the student in the first phase there are a book of pictures (without printed text) and home study records; in the second phase there are a number of selected readers. Teaching materials include manuals detailing the procedures to be followed and a number of teaching films. A further significant feature of the VIF programme is that its grammatical patterns and vocabulary of approximately 3,000 words are those of *Le français fondamental*.²

564. Most schools have found that VIF is best begun at about the Grade VII level. For those who wish to begin French instruction in the primary grades, CRÉDIF has prepared a course of similar format entitled BONJOUR LINE.

565. The cultural content of the three new courses just described derives almost exclusively from France. This objection does not apply to LE FRANÇAIS INTERNATIONAL, a structural course developed by a group of specialists at the University of Montreal to meet the needs of Canadian students. It resembles the CRÉDIF courses in making use of synchronized tapes and filmstrips, but it differs from them in one important respect: it is designed for Anglophone students and is based on a comparative analysis of the differences in the sound, structure,

¹ Produced in France by the Centre de recherche et d'étude pour la diffusion du français (CRÉDIF), École normale supérieure de Saint-Cloud.

² See footnote to § 549.

and vocabulary systems of French and English. Special exercises are included which counteract the tendency to carry characteristics of the English language over into French.¹ The materials for LE FRANÇAIS INTERNATIONAL also include laboratory drills not found in VIF.

566. Two other "new key" French courses are in preparation in Canada. The first is LE FRANÇAIS PARTOUT, an adaptation of an American method, INTRODUCING FRENCH, a preliminary course to the HRW AURAL-ORAL SERIES mentioned previously. The second is an all-Canadian production, ICI ON PARLE FRANÇAIS,² a four-level course, two levels of which have already been completed. The first volumes follow closely the topics of the new Ontario French programme for Grades VII and VIII.

567. Efforts have been made to bring traditional language courses up to date by developing supplementary tapes. These attempts at adaptation have not proved successful because of the wide disparity in aims and methods between traditional and audio-lingual courses. This was why language educators in the United States, in setting up the NDEA language institutes in 1959, recommended that new instructional materials be developed immediately.

568. A number of American audio-lingual courses (for teaching English as a second language) have been approved for both elementary schools and high schools in Quebec. One series, ENGLISH THIS WAY, consists of 12 volumes that provide a completely integrated programme to the end of Grade XII. Only one course, LIVING ENGLISH FOR FRENCH CANADIAN STUDENTS, is of Canadian origin. Unfortunately, the lack of qualified teachers with sufficient fluency in English, especially at the elementary level, has seriously compromised the effectiveness of these aural-oral programmes. A pilot project involving the use of ENGLISH THIS WAY in New Brunswick has met with similar difficulties in rural areas.

6. An articulated sequence of second-language programmes

569. As the teaching of the second language moves down into the elementary school, a serious problem arises in co-ordinating the language work done at that level with the high school course of study. Ideally, the two programmes should form an integrated whole in which the student moves forward in well-graded steps towards an ever-increasing mastery of the four language skills. Although there should be ample provision for review, there should be no useless duplication of effort, no unnecessary repetition.

¹ By contrast, the VIF course is a universal method; that is, it is not addressed to any particular language group.

² Published by Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd.

570. Unfortunately, such an orderly sequence of instruction is still rare in Canadian language classes. Each year children with different backgrounds in second-language learning are entering our high schools and are being grouped together in language classes without regard to the amount of previous training. In the interests of "efficiency" and with alleged justice towards all, instruction begins from scratch. Thus it is not uncommon for a child to "begin" his second-language course two or three years in succession. This series of false starts is economically indefensible and pedagogically unsound. It can only produce frustration and negative attitudes towards language learning. Even within the high school programme, the basic texts used in the first two years are sometimes poorly integrated with the advanced texts. Loss of time and wasted effort are the inevitable results.

571. A further problem involves co-ordination of high school and university language programmes; and here too we are only beginning to make progress. Liaison visits to college language classes by high school groups are becoming more common. University and high school teachers are coming together more frequently in the meetings of provincial language councils. Moreover, first-year French courses offered at English-language universities often present the freshman with a choice between a course in French civilization taught in English and a language course taught entirely in French. The latter type of instruction takes account of the fact that more and more of our students are reaching university with considerable aural-oral facility.

7. *Teaching aids*

572. A wide variety of training aids is now readily available in many provinces for the teaching of the second language. The provincial audio-visual bureaux and the instructional materials centres found in the larger school systems provide such items as 16mm. films, filmstrips, slides, film loops, disc and tape recordings, overhead projectors, and a variety of pictorial aids including wall charts, graphics, flashcards, components for flannel and magnetic boards, models, mock-ups, and so on. In some cases they also provide tape recorders and various types of projectors on loan.

573. The potential value of broadcasts and telecasts is obvious for any second-language programme which stresses the spoken language. To date, however, only limited use has been made of these educational aids. Only three provinces—Nova Scotia, Alberta, and Quebec on an experimental basis—are using television for regular classroom instruction. Nova Scotia has carefully developed and prepared a course for use in Grades VII, VIII, and IX, but it is heavily slanted towards the

Use of radio
and television

culture of France.¹ An American television course, "Parlons français," has been increasingly used in Grades iv, v, and vi in the Calgary area and is now viewed regularly by more than 30,000 children. The same course is used at the same grade levels in the separate schools of Edmonton, but it is presented through films because the privilege of using local television facilities has been withdrawn. Elsewhere, television broadcasts are provided as enrichment for the regular classroom teaching. The Metropolitan Educational Television Association in Toronto, for example, has been providing regular television classes since 1963 in many subjects, including French. Radio broadcasts have been used for enrichment purposes since the first such Canadian venture in Nova Scotia in 1928. A well-known series of Manitoba broadcasts, "Le quart d'heure français," has been in operation since 1945.

574. One of the reasons for the limited use of such television and radio broadcasts, even for enrichment, is the difficulty of integrating them with the course of study. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, for example, has programmes such as "French for Love" and "Chez Hélène" for the teaching of French to Anglophone listeners. These programmes often exploit the advantages of the medium most effectively; they are entertaining, lively, and spontaneous, and they use visual aids and introduce repetition with ingenuity. They are highly professional productions. Unfortunately, they are not suitable for the classroom because they are not co-ordinated with any course of study and they do not provide a graduated sequence of lessons.

575. School broadcasts and telecasts commissioned by provincial departments of Education or by metropolitan school boards vary greatly in aim and execution. Some are designed primarily as enrichment programmes and so are not an essential part of the course of study; others are designed almost as a substitute for the classroom teacher and so do not allow the teacher and other teaching aids to contribute adequately to the learning process. The scripts also suggest that the programmes have not always been carefully planned or designed; the actors do not always speak the second language fluently or correctly; occasionally there are surprising errors in the language used. For example, one English lesson for Francophones included the following conversation: "Where are none of your stones? None are in my left hand." This programme is now, fortunately, off the air. Other programmes may be imported from other countries and so teach the language as a foreign language; thus one programme for Anglophone students suggested that the teacher " . . . use names of cities such as New York, Boston, Washington, which the players are likely

¹ It is more widely used in country schools than in the towns, where qualified French teachers are more likely to be available.

to know, and others such as London, Ottawa, and Moscow, which they are not likely to know.”¹

576. The lack of flexibility in school timetables is also an obstacle to the use of broadcasts and telecasts. A teacher responsible for three classes at the same grade level can rarely combine these classes at telecast time for their language lesson. Video-tapes or some other means of reproducing telecasts may provide the answer. In a few larger centres video-tape recorders are already being used. In Ontario, the department of Education has explained that it will not provide a central library of video-tapes once it launches into full-scale educational television broadcasting. Such a step is not considered feasible in view of the large number of programmes planned. School boards are therefore being urged to prepare for their own recording and distribution and the department has already formed a mobile unit to demonstrate the operation and use of video-tape recording equipment.

577. Language laboratories offer a different kind of assistance to the teacher. They facilitate the repetition of the spoken language and may be used outside classroom hours. The use of these laboratories has increased rapidly in the United States since 1960 because funds were made available to schools to purchase such equipment under the National Defense Education Act. They are now found in some of the larger secondary schools in Canada and are becoming more common, although few teachers as yet have received any special training in the use of this teaching aid.

Language
laboratories

578. All teaching aids when properly used can do much to make classroom presentation more effective, but the course of study must be designed from the beginning to use each aid to its best advantage. Even after the course of study has been designed and the aids provided, the classroom teacher must take the time to plan the classroom work in order to use these aids to full advantage. No province has yet achieved such effective utilization of teaching aids for second-language teaching.

8. Provincial examinations

579. Despite recent emphasis on the speaking and listening skills, matriculation examinations in French as a second language still place a heavy premium on grammar and translation in most provinces. This is particularly true in the Atlantic provinces and in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. This emphasis is no doubt in accordance with the wishes

¹L. G. Kelly, "Teaching the Other Language by Television and Radio," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., discusses these and other programmes.

of the university authorities, many of whom feel that such knowledge is necessary as a foundation for college work. In many provinces, however, the second-language matriculation examination is changing. The examinations prepared in British Columbia, Alberta, and the English Roman Catholic schools of Quebec are now presented entirely in French, with no translation from or into English. All three use the most modern techniques for testing vocabulary, syntax, reading comprehension, and controlled composition by objective methods. The same is true of the almost completely objective English examination administered to Francophone students in Quebec.

Oral testing

580. Most matriculation examinations in language now include listening comprehension and dictation tests presented either on a record or a tape. The marks allotted to this aural component are between 10 and 25 per cent of the paper. In the Protestant schools of Quebec, the testing of oral expression has long been a feature of the high school leaving examination in French. This test is administered individually to candidates by selected oral examiners, and the mark obtained counts for 50 per cent of the final mark. In Ontario, where matriculation examinations have been discontinued, oral expression tests based on pictures have been developed for use by teachers in Grades XII and XIII.

9. Trends and proposed changes

New programmes planned

581. There is a general trend across Canada towards longer training sequences, beginning in the elementary grades, for French-language teaching. There is also a trend towards greater use of audio-visual and audio-lingual materials, at least in the early stages of instruction. In all provinces French revision committees are at work studying new programmes with a view to updating existing courses. Pilot projects using the new courses described above are in operation in selected classrooms throughout Canada. In most cases, a six-year sequence terminating in the last year of high school is being planned. In Ontario, long-range plans call for a nine-year sequence. The Protestant and English Roman Catholic schools of Quebec are still thinking in terms of a nine- or 10-year programme, but there is a strong feeling that the present approach is obsolescent and must be replaced. Alberta and Saskatchewan have already produced new courses for teaching French, and most other provinces will have prepared such courses by 1970. This does not mean that by 1970 all traditional courses will have been abandoned; the necessity for continuing the older courses will remain until suitably fluent teachers are available in the numbers required.

Testing procedures

582. Changes in materials and methods will require corresponding changes in techniques of measurement. With so many different courses

in operation in the same province (and the pluralistic approach seems likely to continue), a single provincial examination will no longer be adequate for assessing individual achievement in language programmes. The Ontario solution to this problem has consisted of doing away with the matriculation examinations and returning the task of evaluation to the individual teacher. In British Columbia, only students who are not recommended by their schools are required to write the Grade XII examinations. In Montreal, teachers in the Protestant schools are accredited as oral examiners, and such accreditation has been under consideration elsewhere. But there is a need for standardized language tests to measure the four skills as a check on the validity of local evaluation of language achievement. American tests will have to be adapted or Canadian tests developed to measure proficiency in the two official languages.

B. Second-language Teacher Supply and Training

1. Teacher supply and qualifications

583. If the courses of instruction just described are to produce good results, they must be in the hands of capable teachers. Provincial reports will make it clear that there is a serious lack of well-qualified language teachers from coast to coast in Canada.¹ There are many reasons for this. The number of bilingual teachers with the necessary professional training and with a desire to teach the second language is strictly limited. The extension of second-language teaching to the elementary grades has greatly intensified the teacher scarcity.² Many other factors adversely affect the supply of teachers, including teachers of language. The student population explosion, falling drop-out rates, and the competitive bidding of business and industry for personnel suited to teaching—all these have contributed to the increased demand for teachers. Low pay scales, particularly in the Atlantic provinces, have led to the granting of letters of permission and “local licences” to individuals with very rudimentary qualifications for teaching. In some areas, almost any candidate who presents himself as a language instructor is hired with no questions asked.

584. Surveys in Nova Scotia, Saskatchewan, and Alberta show that well over half the teachers of French in these provinces have only

¹ See review of Section 10 of the individual provincial reports contained in Appendix III.

² To take one example, when French was introduced into Grade VIII in British Columbia, every available language teacher was hired, but a number of unfilled positions remained in the rural schools.

limited fluency. Moreover, the Alberta study showed that out of 321 non-Francophone teachers of French who responded, 250 or 78 per cent estimated that they were using English as the language of instruction more than half the time.¹ This percentage is not out of line even on a national basis. A survey conducted by the Commission at 25 English-language universities involved more than 3,000 freshmen enrolled in first-year courses. One question asked of candidates was "Did you ever have a teacher who spoke only or primarily French in class?" In seven of the nine provinces the proportion of candidates answering negatively varied between 74 and 89 per cent.²

585. There are similar staffing difficulties relating to the teaching of English as a second language in the French-language elementary schools in Quebec. Class teachers are required to teach their own English course, regardless of their competence in the spoken language. As a result, the language work done is almost exclusively written, in spite of the fact that the textbooks are based on an oral approach.

Special
recruitment
measures

586. Some school boards have adopted special measures to obtain qualified language teachers. Each year a recruiting team from the Montreal Protestant system goes to Europe to engage certified teachers of French. It may seem odd that such a step is necessary in the world's second largest French-speaking city, but it must be remembered that it has been very difficult for a Roman Catholic to teach in a Protestant school in Quebec or vice versa. Moreover, there is a serious shortage of teachers in both the French and the English systems. The Protestant Board of Montreal has a French specialist in each of its 80 elementary schools, although most of the workload is still handled by classroom teachers of varying fluency. In Ontario, as an emergency measure, the department has recently selected bilingual persons outside the teaching profession and trained them in summer courses to assume duties as French teachers in the elementary schools.

2. *Teacher preparation*

Academic
qualifications

587. The basic requirement for the elementary teacher's diploma in all provinces of Canada is two years of professional and academic training beyond junior matriculation, or one year of mainly professional training beyond senior matriculation. Some provinces, notably British Columbia and Alberta, offer specially designed courses for elementary teachers leading to the degree of Bachelor of Education. It is now

¹ George H. Desson, "A Study of the Academic Preparation and Fluency of Alberta High School Teachers of French" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Alberta at Calgary, 1967), 78.

² L.-P. Valiquet, "French-language Proficiency at University Entrance," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

becoming usual in many provinces to offer an optional French course to selected student teachers who expect to teach French on graduation.

588. Many secondary school teachers are still teaching without university degrees but the trend is towards four-year undergraduate programmes combining content and methodology courses or, as an alternative, one-year professional training programmes for holders of bachelor degrees in arts, science, or commerce. Most of these courses are now being offered in a university setting in the various faculties of education. The one-year programmes do not usually lead to the degree of Bachelor of Education but only to a secondary school teaching diploma. The University of Ottawa and St. Dunstan's University in Prince Edward Island are exceptions.

589. In British Columbia the Bachelor of Education programme for secondary school teachers is of five years' duration, while there is a four-year programme for elementary school teachers. In Alberta a four-year programme is authorized for both categories.

590. It is important to note that, almost without exception across Canada, the teaching certificates issued by provincial authorities do not indicate the subjects in which the teacher is especially competent. In other words, certification is general, and not by subject; the candidate on graduation may go out and teach any high school subject, depending on the demands of the moment. Specialist certificates for teachers of French are issued in only two provinces, Quebec and Ontario. In Quebec this certificate may be obtained through summer courses by selected teachers with at least one year's experience and demonstrated proficiency in speaking and writing. It entitles the holder to teach French in both elementary and secondary schools, whether he has a degree or not. It is unusual, however, to find a French specialist without a university degree teaching high school classes.

Specialist
certification

591. In Ontario the requirements are more formal. The Type A or specialist's certificate is open only to graduates of university honours courses or of other advanced courses of study. Candidates for this certificate are processed differently from Type B (non-specialist) candidates during their year of professional training.

592. The teacher-training programmes for French-speaking teachers in New Brunswick and Quebec have similar requirements. Most teachers employed in New Brunswick have been trained at the New Brunswick Teachers' College in Fredericton. Separate programmes, each of two years' duration, are provided for Francophones and Anglophones. An optional course in the teaching of English as a second language is now being offered.

593. The French-language teachers' colleges in Quebec offer both two-year diploma programmes leading to the Type B certificate and

four-year degree courses leading to the degree of Bachelor of Education. In the two-year course, the study of English (both language and methodology) is obligatory in both years. In the degree course it is compulsory in the first and last years.

3. In-service training

594. There are now many opportunities for language teachers in Canada to improve their qualifications and to modernize their methods of instruction. Universities and departments of Education, provincial teachers' associations and their language councils, school boards, publishers, and voluntary groups provide a variety of summer and extension courses as well as training sessions in the form of workshops, seminars, and regional conferences.

595. One training project that is particularly worth noting, since it perhaps foreshadows the shape of things to come, is the six-week "immersion" course for developing French fluency that was offered at the Ontario Centre for Continuing Education at Elliot Lake in the summers of 1966 and 1967. The same course was held in 1968 at Sainte-Thérèse-de-Blainville, near Montreal. In each session, 150 elementary and secondary teachers underwent intensive training in French conversation and the methodology of second-language teaching. As an integral part of the course a recreation programme consisting of film showings, music and songs, land and water sports, and field trips was conducted almost entirely in French. Participants were enthusiastic about these courses.

596. In-service training conducted during the school year may take the form of night classes and Saturday morning workshops, or of short meetings held during class hours, especially at examination time. The opportunities for such training sessions are generally greater in the larger centres, though many provincial language teacher councils and departments of Education arrange regional conferences concerning new courses of study and recent developments in language training.

4. Supervision and guidance

597. The supervision and counselling of classroom teachers is a special form of in-service training. In Ontario there has been an increasing emphasis on this activity. The Ontario department of Education has appointed a number of modern-language inspectors—or programme consultants, as they are now called—who visit schools, observe language classes, and provide much useful advice regarding the most effective way of presenting instruction.

598. In the larger Ontario cities the school board usually appoints a language supervisor who may have one or more consultants to assist him. The duties of the supervisor include setting up in-service training programmes. He provides information and advice on the availability, purchase, and use of laboratory and other equipment. He visits schools to check the quality of language instruction, and he arranges inter-school visits between language teaching staffs to promote a fruitful exchange of ideas and the development of effective teaching procedures.

599. Finally, in the high schools of Ontario there is often a department head who gives supervision to his less experienced colleagues and provides them with the opportunity of observing classes that are well taught. He also helps his staff organize the work of each term into teachable units, and so ensures effective instruction in all classes under his jurisdiction.

600. The amount of supervision that language teachers receive in the other provinces varies widely. The Protestant system of Quebec has modern language inspectors or consultants as in Ontario, and the larger regional and urban school boards usually have one or more language consultants. The appointment of department heads for modern languages is still a new idea in most provinces. In the larger schools we find chairmen for the core subjects but not always for the smaller language sections. Generally speaking, second-language teachers across Canada receive little personal guidance on the job.

Guidance in
other provinces

C. Student Attitudes

601. Student attitudes towards learning a second language are difficult to assess and even more difficult to explain, but it is obvious that these attitudes are an important factor in determining the effectiveness of second-language teaching. Unless the student attaches some importance to second-language learning, curriculum planners and teachers are likely to be disappointed by the results of their efforts. It is true that the curriculum itself and the individual teachers will affect the attitude of the students, that a well-articulated programme, using a variety of teaching aids and taught by a proficient and enthusiastic teacher, can create a genuine interest in any school subject.

602. The attitude of a student, however, will also reflect community attitudes, and the value which parents and other students in the class give to the learning of the second language. If the student gains the impression that French or English is an artificial acquisition or an unnecessary frill, even the best programme taught by the best teacher will have little impact.

Attitudes towards
French as a
second language

603. In general, English-speaking students appear uncertain as to why they are studying French. The responses of some freshmen students at Canadian universities suggest that for many of them French is a "foreign" language, offering abstract cultural or academic benefits but having little relevance to their careers or to their lives as citizens of a bicultural country. Questions on attitudes were administered to students enrolled in first-year French courses at 25 English-language universities. This was not a representative sample of all university students—because a second language may or may not be required for a university degree, depending on the faculty or the university—but the number of students was large enough to warrant some inferences.¹ Few of these students had had any significant contact with French as a living language, either by meeting French-speaking Canadians or by watching French television, listening to French radio, or reading French newspapers. Even in the classroom they might not have much contact with French; most students reported that they had never had a teacher who spoke mainly French during French periods. In Ontario and Quebec, two out of three students had had this experience, but in the other provinces the proportion ranged from one in four to one in 10. Student attitudes towards French may reflect this lack of contact.

604. The students were presented with nine possible reasons for studying French and asked to check the reasons which applied in their case. The responses suggest varied and possibly even confused motives. A majority replied affirmatively to most of the suggested reasons. French seemed useful for travel abroad or for reading French literature; it seemed useful for travel in Quebec or for reading newspapers and listening to French-language radio and television; it would be useful in the student's future career; as a Canadian, the student felt he should know French. Only a minority, however, saw it as useful for speaking to Francophone friends or as essential for their careers. In each case, the students who responded affirmatively received higher marks on achievement tests in listening and reading in French than the students who did not feel that this reason applied to them. The one exception was the suggested reason that the student was studying French because it was necessary for a university degree. A majority gave an affirmative response, but the test marks of this majority were much below the test marks of those who rejected this reason. The connection between attitude and achievement is apparent.

605. Probably more revealing, however, was the subsequent question, which asked the student to select the most important reason from those

¹ Valiquet, "French-language Proficiency at University Entrance," Chapter IV, 20. Some 8,000 students were involved, although the basic group—students who were born in Canada of Anglophone parents and who had received all of their education within a single province—consisted of 4,500 students.

he had checked. Slightly more than one-quarter of the group chose the need for a university credit in a second language. The remaining students distributed their choices among the other eight reasons. It seems clear that the results of French teaching in the schools would be improved if more students were convinced that a knowledge of French would be a valuable acquisition rather than an academic hurdle.

606. French-speaking students react differently to learning English. When a similar questionnaire was administered to some 2,000 students at French-language universities or classical colleges, a much higher proportion replied affirmatively to the positive reasons and four out of five rejected academic credits as a reason for studying the second language. Just over half of these students gave as the most important reason that English would be necessary or useful for their career. A further question suggested disadvantages to learning English, such as the danger of becoming anglicized, or impoverishing their French, that English was not necessary for a career, that the time could be better spent on other subjects, or that Anglophones should first give greater importance to learning French. When asked which of these was the most relevant for them, almost half the students rejected them all. It is clear that most French-speaking students believe that a knowledge of English is a valuable acquisition.

Attitudes towards
English as a
second language

607. These students took achievement tests in listening and reading the second language as well as completing the questionnaires. The English and the French tests were not comparable. Even within the two groups, the students could not be considered a representative sample from each province. Therefore, no attempt was made to draw any conclusions about the relative competence in the second language of Anglophone and Francophone students, or of students from the different provinces. Nonetheless, the test results provide valuable information about the teaching of second languages in Canada.

Achievement
tests

608. For the Anglophones there was a positive correlation between results of the tests and the number of years of studying the second language. The same positive correlation appears between test results and contact with spoken French in or out of the classroom. We have already noted the correlation between attitude and achievement. Probably more revealing is the fact that for all provinces, with the exception of Quebec, the average marks on the listening test were lower than the average marks on the reading test, although the norms based on four-year high school programmes in the United States were slightly higher for the listening tests. No dogmatic conclusions can be drawn from these test results or from the various correlations. In general, however, the test results suggest that there is some validity in the widespread criticism

of the teaching of French in Canadian schools. They also suggest where improvements in second-language teaching are possible.

609. Similar correlations appeared among the Francophones. The more years of studying English, the higher the achievement on both listening and reading tests; the more contact with spoken English in or out of the classroom, the better the test results. Francophones, however, usually scored higher on the listening than on the reading test. Again the marks suggest that there is room for improvement, especially for students who have little contact with English outside the school, although in some cases the achievement in the second language approached the fluency of students for whom English is the mother tongue. For both Francophones and Anglophones, it is apparent that more hours of study and more contact with the spoken language would improve both the listening and reading skills.

610. Fifty years ago an English commentator wrote that "Languages are learned for necessity, profit or intellectual satisfaction. Our necessity was not apparent, our profit was sufficient, and most of us found in other ways such modest intellectual satisfaction as we craved." The same comment would aptly describe the traditional attitude of many Canadians towards the second official language. There is no royal road to language learning, and no panacea will make people bilingual without personal effort. In the past many have not seen necessity, profit, or adequate satisfaction in developing second-language skills.

611. Today, for Canadians, the situation is especially favourable for learning the second official language. The importance of the second language is widely recognized among both Anglophones and Francophones. The audio-lingual method is generally accepted as the most appropriate learning method and in most provinces the courses of study are being revised, teachers are being trained in the new approach, and audio-visual aids are being developed and used in the classroom. Our recommendations are intended to accelerate the improvement of second-language teaching in Canada, building on this favourable climate of opinion and on the curriculum changes already being introduced.

A. The Extent of Instruction in the Second Official Language

612. From the beginning, the Commission has emphasized that not all Canadians would or should become fluently bilingual. There may be advantages to the individual in acquiring one or more of the language skills, but every adult citizen should have the right to decide for himself whether these advantages justify the time and effort which second-

Opportunity to
learn the second
language

language learning involves. We have already referred to the benefits of learning the second official language.¹ Although not all Canadians need to be bilingual, we repeat, it is nevertheless true that most Canadians would benefit from some contact with the second official language. The opportunity to study the second language should be provided for adults who are interested, but it is up to the adults themselves to decide whether they wish to take advantage of these opportunities.

Early introduction of the second language

613. Children of school age are in a different situation. Children cannot judge the future utility of the second language; their careers and their way of life have not yet been decided. Yet it is while they are young that they can most easily learn a second language. The child who does not study the second official language in school will be at a disadvantage if he needs to learn it in later life. He will be like a man who did not learn to skate when he was a boy; he may acquire the skill when he is older but it will require greater effort and concentration. Many who do not study the second language in school will never learn it at all. For some this will limit career opportunities; for all it will mean the loss of the other benefits which come from the study of the second language.

Recommendation
31

614. It is necessary, therefore, to ensure that all children have the opportunity to study the second official language. If the second language is included in the school curriculum but is classified as an optional subject, the implication is that this introduction to the second language is not important. Not all students or parents will realize that, if the second language is not begun at a particular level, future opportunities to learn it will be restricted. The opportunity to learn depends not only on the availability of facilities, but also on their use. The second official language should not be an optional subject but rather an integral part of the school curriculum. **We recommend that the study of the second official language should be obligatory for all students in Canadian schools.**

615. This recommendation does not involve radical changes in the present curricula of our provincial school systems. As we have seen, most students already study French or English as the second language. Our recommendation, therefore, will affect only a minority. Present requirements for a second language for Anglophone students do not always specify French, but in practice French is usually the choice—either because it is the only second language offered in the school or because most students choose French when they have the choice. Our recommendation would make French the second language for all Anglophone students, although they could study additional languages if they wished to, and if courses were offered.

¹ See §§ 521-2.

616. This recommendation goes further, however, by making the second language a subject for all students, whether they are in the academic, commercial, or technical stream. A second language is usually included in the academic programme, but it is often not included in other programmes. A knowledge of French or English as a second language is equally valuable, however, to all students.

617. Indeed, participants at a UNESCO conference on second-language teaching in 1962 "were convinced that teaching young children a second language was practicable and educationally valuable for all children and not only for the specially gifted, provided full use was made of the recent advances in the methodology of modern language teaching."¹ We see no reason to make any distinction between the various streams as far as the study of a second language is concerned. The course of study and the methods may vary between streams, with vocabulary and subject matter reflecting the specialized interests of the student, but the second official language should be taught to all students.

B. The Aims of Second-language Training

618. Aims in education can never be rigidly defined. Students vary widely in capacity and interest so that any precise statement about levels of achievement is impossible. Broader objectives usually refer to qualities or attitudes which cannot be accurately measured. Every subject on the school curriculum should increase the student's knowledge, understanding, and intellectual capacities. It is nevertheless essential to begin with the aims, because they provide the criteria by which methods and subject matter should be determined. No logical programme is possible unless its objectives are clear.

619. The immediate aim of second-language teaching is concerned with the four basic skills—understanding the spoken language and the ability to speak, read, and write it. These skills are interrelated but each could be taught separately. The precise aims of second-language teaching will influence the sequence in which these skills are introduced, the emphasis given to each skill, and the level of competence to be achieved in each. A broader objective is concerned with expanding the child's knowledge and understanding of the culture expressed through the language and his understanding of the people who speak it. Cultural material should not be included at the expense of the immediate aims of second-language teaching, but any second language must be taught in a cultural context. In Canada, this context should enhance the awareness and increase the knowledge of the other official-language group in the country. There are, of course, other objectives, such as

Language skills
and cultural
objectives

¹Conference Bulletin, UNESCO Institute of Education (Hamburg, April 17, 1962), 2.

the development of clarity in thought and expression, the indirect benefit to the grasp of the mother tongue, and the self-knowledge which comes from understanding another society. These objectives, however, are common to the teaching of any second language and so are not our immediate concern.

1. The language skills

620. The aim of second-language teaching is not to produce a generation of completely bilingual Canadians, any more than the aim of physical education is to produce a nation of gymnasts. The extent to which the school can develop the four language skills will vary with the community; obviously an English-speaking child has a better chance of learning French in Ottawa than in Calgary because of the environment, and the same is true for a French-speaking child learning English in Montreal as compared with Chicoutimi. The degree of skill acquired will vary from one community to the next, but the basic aim should be the same in all cases. Second-language teaching should lay a solid foundation so that after graduation the student may develop, retain, or re-acquire the skills he needs. The school should not be expected to perfect these language skills but it should enable graduates to become bilingual if they have the desire and the opportunity to do so.

Emphasis on
different language
skills

621. In practice it is not quite so simple. Bilingualism, as we have already noted, is a complex concept and bilingual persons may be bilingual in different ways.¹ If second-language teaching is to achieve its aim it must prepare students for a wide range of possible language situations. Which of the language skills should be given priority in the classroom? In which sequence should they be taught? These basic skills are obviously interrelated, since there is a common vocabulary and sentence structure, but it is possible to speak a second language without being able to write it, and it is possible to understand the written language without understanding the spoken word. The decision as to which skill should be taught first and which skill should be emphasized cannot be an arbitrary one. In part this decision will depend on which of the language skills will be the most useful.

622. In the 19th century the emphasis was on the reading and writing skills, and grammar and translation dominated the second-language curriculum. The teaching of modern languages was greatly influenced by the prestige of the classical languages and the aim was to develop analytical skills and a sense of literary style. A student might learn to translate or even imitate Addison or Fénelon, but he might never learn to converse in the language. The introduction of the so-

¹ See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, §§ 4-16.

called direct method was a reaction against treating modern languages as "dead" languages. With this method, the emphasis is on conversation, and the written word is almost hidden from the student until he can understand the spoken word and can speak the language with confidence. The emphasis on oral methods was a response to the increasing international contacts in the 20th century for diplomats, businessmen, and tourists. The new methods first gained popularity in Europe, where the advantages of the oral skills were more obvious, but two world wars drew more attention to the value of oral methods in North America, and the strained relations between the two major language groups have strengthened the support for these methods in Canada.¹

623. We strongly support the teaching of oral skills to Canadian students. Both French and English are living languages in this country and whenever Francophone and Anglophone Canadians meet, communication is possible only if at least one person can understand and speak the other's language. We believe that this priority of oral skills is accepted by most Canadians. The criticisms we heard of second-language teaching were centred on the complaint that, after years of study, students still could not communicate with their compatriots.

Priority of oral
skills

624. As we have seen, our own research gives further support to this conclusion. When first-year students taking a course in French at English-language universities were asked the most important reason for studying French, many of them thought French would be essential or at least useful for their work; others felt that it was their duty as Canadians; others that a knowledge of French would be useful for travel abroad. Only a few felt that it would be important to read French literature.² First-year students taking a course in English at French-language universities also stressed the value of the second language for situations where conversation would be the usual means of communication. They tended to choose English as essential or useful in their work, as necessary for a citizen of Canada, or in order to communicate with English-speaking friends.³ So much importance was given to the oral skills by these Francophones that just over half of them minimized the value of second-language teaching in the classroom and felt that they had learned more English outside school. To them, knowledge of English meant a knowledge of spoken English.⁴ It seems clear, therefore, that second-language teaching should give priority to the oral skills.

¹ L. G. Kelly, "Ideas on Language Teaching, Their Origin and Development in the West" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Laval University, 1966).

² L.-P. Valiquet, "French-language Proficiency at University Entrance," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 56-62.

³ R. Sirkis, "How Well Do French Canadian Students Know English?" a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 133.

Reading and
writing skills

625. This does not mean, however, that the skills of reading and writing can be neglected. Even Canadians who have daily contact with members of the other language group will not be able to communicate effectively unless they read the newspapers, periodicals, and novels which their compatriots are reading. The ability to speak a second language is of little use if there is no common frame of reference for conversation. For Canadians who have little or no contact with those of the other language group, reading may be the only way to keep in touch with the interests and attitudes of their compatriots. Second-language teaching in Canada should give priority to the oral skill without neglecting the teaching of the reading skill.

626. Second-language teaching programmes cannot be designed solely in terms of the probable future needs of the students. They must also be based on sound pedagogical principles. Fortunately there is no contradiction between the priorities established by assessing the usefulness to Canadians of these various skills and the priorities established by language teachers concerned with teaching all the skills. Experts are now generally agreed that languages are learned by acquiring behaviour patterns rather than by analysis. "*The single paramount fact about language learning,*" writes one specialist, "*is that it concerns, not problem solving, but the formation and performance of habits.*"¹ These habits are best acquired by beginning with oral communication—first by becoming familiar with phrases and sentences and then by learning to use them. After this introduction to the language the student will proceed more effectively to acquire the reading and writing skills.

627. There is disagreement among the experts about the timing of the introduction of these language skills. Should students acquire a high proficiency in the oral skills before they are exposed to the written language, or should the skills be developed in tandem? There is no need to become involved in this debate at the moment. It is enough to point out that the most effective way to develop even the reading skill is to begin with the oral skills, because in this way one acquires those habits which are the basis of language learning. Thus, for pedagogical as well as for pragmatic reasons, second-language teaching in Canadian schools should begin with the spoken language.

2. The cultural aims

628. The other broad aim of second-language teaching is related to cultural objectives rather than language skills, but the two objectives are closely linked. Language is never taught in a cultural vacuum and

¹ Nelson Brooks, *Language and Language Learning, Theory and Practice* (2nd ed., New York, 1964), 40. [Italicized in the original.]

it has even been argued that, in learning a language well, a student will actually identify himself with the cultural values associated with this language group, at least during the learning period.¹ Even if this is exceptional, it is obvious that the incentive to learn any language will be enhanced by an interest in the people who speak the language, in their cultural heritage, and in their way of life. In Canada, second-language teachers have the great advantage that they do not have to teach French or English in the context of a remote European society. The interest in the language can be more easily stimulated because it is the language of many Canadians. Students should find the second language more pertinent and more relevant, and hence easier to learn, if it is presented in the context of a Canadian society.

629. This emphasis on the Canadian context of English or French is justified by this pedagogical advantage, but it has the supplementary advantage that it will teach Canadian students a great deal about the other language group in Canada. Instead of living his French lessons in Paris, the English-speaking student could talk or read about life in Quebec, while the French-speaking student could learn English in the context of Toronto rather than of London or New York.

Emphasis on
Canadian milieu

630. This approach will do more than increase the relevance of second-language learning for Canadian students. It will also provide them with a great deal of information about the other cultural group. For many this knowledge will survive long after the language skills have been forgotten. The stereotypes of the simple habitant or the puritanical Anglo-Saxon can only be replaced by an awareness of the complexity of our two societies. If we can even introduce students to the idea that their compatriots cannot be fitted into stereotyped categories it will be a significant achievement, because eventually these students will be involved in political decisions which affect both cultural groups. A secondary aim of second-language teaching should be to give students some understanding of the other official-language group in Canada.

C. The Second-language Curricula in the Schools

631. We do not intend to suggest a detailed blueprint for second-language curricula in Canadian schools. No single programme for French- or English-language teaching would be suitable for all parts of the country. In any case, the details must be the responsibility of

¹R. C. Gardner and W. E. Lambert, "Motivational Variables in Second-language Acquisition," *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, XIII, 1959, 266-72.

professional linguists, of educational experts, and of language teachers. Our concern is to discuss the main characteristics of the curricula and the courses of study which stem from these aims. After a discussion of the second-language programme in the schools we can then proceed to a discussion of the preparation of teachers and teaching aids which this programme will require.

1. An articulated second-language programme

632. The recommendation that all students should study the second official language does not imply that all students should study it in every grade. What is important is a continuous and integrated sequence maintained over a number of years.

633. Skills can be developed only by practice, and the rather unnatural skills involved in speaking or reading a strange language cannot be acquired quickly. Habits must become ingrained and, as with piano playing, some responses must become almost instinctive. But time can easily be wasted, and unless these students follow a carefully articulated sequence they will not use their time effectively. Practice may make perfect but it is not constant practice of the scale of C which makes a pianist. Second-language students must advance from the easy to the difficult, from the simple to the complex, if they are to develop language skills.

Length of programme

634. The first question is how many years of studying the second language are necessary to provide a foundation for the student to develop, retain, or re-acquire these skills after leaving school. American experience suggests that the minimum should be four years. Two-year programmes are now viewed with considerable scepticism because they do not achieve a reasonable language competence. Provincial departments of Education in Canada seem to have arrived at the same conclusion. In almost every province the second-language programme, either French or English, extends over at least four or five years of secondary school, and even in provinces where the second language is not introduced as a compulsory subject at the elementary level, local school boards are permitted to begin teaching the second language at this level. In 1964, of some 8,000 first-year university students involved in a Commission study of proficiency in French, fewer than one in six had studied French in school for less than four years and the median period was five years.¹ Of the Francophone students included in a study of proficiency in English, more than half had studied English for seven

¹ The results of this project are analyzed in Valiquet, "French-language Proficiency at University Entrance."

or eight years.¹ From this, as well as from the present provincial programmes, it is clear that a four-year sequence is already accepted as a minimum, and that most programmes exceed this minimum.

635. The problem in most provinces is not one of introducing a minimum programme but of creating an articulated sequence. Most second-language programmes are a continuous sequence through the high school years but there is an amazing variety of second-language instruction in every province at the elementary level. Local schools usually have the authority to introduce the second language in the elementary grades but there is no consistent pattern. Within the same province students may begin studying the second language at any level from Grade I on, or they may not encounter the second language until secondary school. This means that, at the secondary level, the course of study for the second language cannot build effectively on the elementary school background of the student. If we take a province in which Grade VIII is the first year of secondary school, a teacher in this grade may have to teach the second language to a class which varies from seven years of training to no training at all. Inevitably, this means that the teacher must begin with the fundamentals. For the student who is already well advanced, the situation is comparable to that of an advanced student of the piano forced to go back to practising elementary scales. He may be required to endure the boredom of unnecessary repetition for two or three years until his classmates have acquired comparable skills. The same problem of articulation arises in the first years of university where once again the variation in backgrounds of language training means that many students may be enrolled in classes which are inappropriate because they do not build on the skills already developed.

Linking elementary and secondary programmes

636. A great deal of attention has been given in recent years to the possible advantages of introducing children to the second language at an early age. This discussion, however, has tended to overshadow an equally vital question—the necessity of a continuous language programme to consolidate and develop the skills acquired in the elementary grades. **We recommend that second-language courses be planned in a continuous sequential programme.**

Recommendation
32

637. If secondary school language programmes do not build on the foundations established at the elementary level, the early beginning is a waste of time. This explains why in 1961 an advisory committee of the Modern Language Association of America was critical of many "Foreign Language in Elementary School" (FLES) programmes. The committee was strongly in favour of introducing second languages at

¹ Sirkis, "How Well Do French Canadian Students Know English?" 41.

the elementary level, but it pointed out that this early introduction to a second language is not an end in itself, but the elementary school part of a language learning programme that should extend unbroken through Grade XII. "Unless there is a solid junior and senior high school programme of foreign language learning with due stress on the listening and speaking skills, FLES learnings wither on the vine."¹

Recommendation
33

638. The year in which second-language teaching ends is thus in many ways more important than the year of school in which it begins. If skills acquired at the elementary level lie fallow at the secondary level, many of the advantages of an early beginning will be lost. For the student, however, the knowledge of the second language is more likely to be useful after graduating from secondary school. He may be expected to speak or at least to read the second language, whether he takes a job or goes on to university. For this reason, **we recommend that all programmes for the teaching of the second official language should extend to the terminal year of secondary school.**

639. This recommendation does not propose any radical innovation in existing programmes. In almost all provinces the existing programmes continue to the end of high school. The recommendation does stress, however, the importance of continuing second-language instruction to the terminal year of all secondary school streams—academic, commercial, and technical.

2. *The introduction of second-language teaching*

Advantage of
early introduction

640. This is not to suggest that there are not real advantages in early contact with the second language. With respect to the actual learning process, no child is ever too young to start learning a second language, provided that the method is suitable. Young children are skilful imitators and have fewer inhibitions and so can acquire the oral skills with much less effort; they can reproduce the strange sounds and rhythms more easily and the necessary repetition becomes part of a game, a form of play-acting. Dr. Wilder Penfield has also argued from neurological evidence that new speech mechanisms can be acquired more easily at an early age. These special advantages do not imply that second languages cannot be learned by adolescents or adults. Second languages can be learned at any age if there is sufficient opportunity and the motivation is strong. At an early age, however, certain aspects of the learning process, such as memorization and repetition, are less laborious, and satisfactory accent, intonation, and speech rhythms are more easily acquired.

¹ Cited in Donald D. Walsh, "Articulation in the Teaching of Foreign Languages," *Curriculum Changes in the Foreign Languages* (1963), 63.

641. It is sometimes argued, however, that learning a second language at an early age will interfere with the grasp of the first language. Francophone Canadians are especially apprehensive of the encroachment of English words and structures on their mother tongue, and fear that linguistic confusion may inhibit intellectual clarity in either language. Linguists differ over the danger of language interference, although it is generally agreed that individuals are better able to keep the sounds and structures of the two languages distinct under certain conditions. An ideal learning situation, for example, is for the child to communicate with an individual in the same language at all times—the principle of one person, one language. Recent research gives little support to the apprehension that learning a second language interferes with general intellectual growth. The problems of maintaining high standards of French in North America cannot, however, be ignored. Even if there is no evidence that learning a second language inhibits the full development of the mother tongue, it may be desirable to delay the introduction of English in the French-language schools in order to concentrate first on the fundamentals of the mother tongue. The Parent Commission on Education recommended in 1964 that the study of English as a second language should begin in the second or third year of elementary school if highly qualified teachers were available; otherwise it suggested that it might be delayed until the fifth year, as in the present Quebec curriculum. For Anglophone Canadians, the mother tongue is not menaced in the same way, and French as a second language can be introduced early in the elementary curriculum with little risk of language interference.

Language
interference

642. No uniform recommendation on the beginning age is possible, given the different linguistic milieus to which Canadian children are exposed. Even among Francophones, the ideal beginning age may not be the same for a child living in Ottawa as for a child in Quebec City. More research is required on this subject. Even if careful research could increase our knowledge of the capacity of children to learn and of the significance of the language milieu, the problem would still not be solved. Any decision about the beginning age also depends on whether the appropriate learning situation can be provided in the classroom. The child cannot begin to study the second language unless suitable teachers and courses of study, complete with teaching aids, are available. It would be a mistake to introduce the second language in the early years of elementary school before a continuous and sequential programme of second-language teaching from this point could be assured. Because of the different linguistic milieus, the lack of teachers, and the need to develop programmes, it is not possible to

Recommendation
34

make a specific recommendation at this time. Nonetheless, the desirability of an early beginning must be stressed. **We recommend as a desirable objective the introduction of the second official language in Grade I in English-language schools and in Grade III in French-language schools.**

Kindergarten

643. The possibility of introducing the second official language in kindergarten should not be overlooked. Although we do not intend to make any formal recommendation, we are convinced that the kindergarten offers many advantages for the introduction of a second language. The kindergarten atmosphere is usually informal and the activities relatively unstructured. The time spent on learning a new medium of communication does not encroach on the time which in later years must be devoted to reading and arithmetic. Children of kindergarten age also appear to enjoy the simple game of learning responses and songs in a different language. We believe that, whenever a suitable teacher is available, the second official language can most easily be introduced in kindergarten.

644. The ideal second-language programme is therefore one beginning in early grades of the elementary school and continuing to the end of secondary school. Such a programme will be a continuous sequence, carefully designed to develop the language skills in a logical and consistent pattern. The progression from one year to the next will require changes in methods to suit the ages and skills of the learner. More formal methods will be appropriate as the student matures, just as the learning of the mother tongue passes from the informal and unstructured learning in the home to the highly organized learning of grammar, literature, and literary criticism. Unstructured learning continues after childhood even in the mother tongue, however, and in the second language it should never be entirely displaced even if its importance diminishes.

645. Such a programme cannot be achieved by *ad hoc* changes in provincial regulations. Articulation requires the planning of the entire language programme, with the course of study for each year building on the work of the previous year. Each course of study in turn will require a wide range of teaching aids—textbooks, tapes, filmstrips, radio and television programmes—all carefully planned as integral parts of the course. These aids must be produced before a new language programme can be offered. Even more difficult is the problem of supplying the teachers. We will be discussing the training of language teachers in section D of this chapter, but already it is obvious that these teachers will require special training. They themselves must acquire the language skills before they can teach them to their students, and they must be familiar with the methods and the teaching aids of

the language programme adopted. No ideal language programme can be introduced until qualified teachers are trained.

646. Our recommendation on the levels at which second-language teaching should begin is therefore qualified by the need to prepare course material and to train teachers. No province has the resources to implement this recommendation at this time. Thus it represents an objective for second-language education in Canada.

647. This does not mean that the extension of language teaching at the elementary level should be delayed until all the prerequisites for an ideal programme are available. Rather it means that long-range plans are needed for extending second-language teaching and that changes in existing programmes should be based on these plans. Each province will face special problems in moving towards the objective in our recommendation. What may be feasible in one province may not be possible until some years later in another province.

Period of transition

648. During the period of transition, priority must be given to the need for an articulated programme. If the responsibility for deciding the beginning age is left entirely to the local or regional school authorities, then the variety of programmes within the province will be even more confusing than it is today, and much of the effort expended by teachers and students at the elementary level may be wasted. If the compulsory study of the second official language begins only at the secondary level, the programme at this level must inevitably be adjusted to the lowest common denominator. Instead of a logical extension of a single elementary programme, it will begin once again at the introductory level. A carefully articulated sequence linking elementary and secondary programmes is only possible if the elementary programme begins at the same grade in all of the elementary schools of the province. The objective we have recommended should be reached as soon as possible, but it should be achieved by gradually lowering the grade at which the provincial programme is introduced. This grade in any given year will depend upon the available supply of language teachers and the preparation of a suitable course of study. **We recommend that the provincial second-language programmes in the elementary schools be extended downward by stages until the provinces reach the objective of introducing French in Grade I in the English-language schools and English in Grade III in the French-language schools.**

Recommendation 35

649. This recommendation does not mean that local school authorities would not be able to introduce the second official language before the grade at which the language becomes part of the regular provincial curriculum. They would have the same authority as they now have to enrich the curriculum at an earlier level. This local initiative should still be encouraged; our recommendation is intended to

ensure that the energies which have gone into the many elementary school programmes already in existence will not be dissipated for lack of an articulated sequence.

3. *The language to be taught*

650. Since one of the purposes of second-language teaching in Canada is to facilitate communication between members of the two language groups, it is obviously necessary to teach the language which the other group will understand. This creates special problems in Canada, however, because there are regional variations in pronunciation and vocabulary for both French and English, and none of these variants is identical with the language spoken in France or in England. Should we teach one of the versions of the language as it is spoken in Europe or should we teach one of the Canadian variants?

Variants of spoken French

651. The French which is to be taught has provoked considerable controversy. Many Anglophone Canadians have had the experience of studying French for years only to find that the French spoken on the streets of Montreal was incomprehensible to them and that their French was not understood in the shops. Some Anglophones conclude from this that the French spoken in Canada is a patois and that an educated person should learn "Parisian" French. Only "Parisian" French, it is argued, gives access to French literature and to Francophones outside North America. Other Anglophones are critical of the French they have learned in school because they want to communicate with their compatriots and would prefer to speak "French Canadian French" even if it is a patois.

652. These attitudes are based on a misconception of the French spoken in Canada. There are many variants of French even in Quebec; there are regional variants, but differences attributable to educational or socio-economic status are more significant. Francophones themselves are very conscious of the differences and many of them are more critical of *joual* than are Anglophones.¹ Indeed, *Les insolences du Frère Untel*,² a best-seller which helped to spark the "quiet revolution" in Quebec, was primarily concerned with the need to eliminate *joual*. The Parent Commission in turn gave a high priority to the teaching of the mother tongue in the schools, with special emphasis on the need to improve the quality of oral French in Quebec: "In certain cases the school must counteract the language level of the

¹ *Joual* is the name given to the variant of French spoken by the less educated or less sophisticated French Canadians. The name is derived from the pronunciation of *cheval*.

² Jean-Paul Desbiens (Montreal, 1960).

area from which the children come.”¹ Many French-speaking Canadians already speak a cultivated French, and the quality of written French in some Quebec newspapers and certain literary works has been recognized by international awards. The widespread concern for improving the French used in Quebec, the concerted efforts in the schools, and the example of newspapers and television may well relegate *joual* to isolated communities in a generation or two. It will remain a subject of interest to linguists and anthropologists but not to people who wish to converse with French-speaking Canadians.

653. Our conclusion is that the French to be taught in English-language schools does not present a serious problem. French is a more standardized language than English and there is a version of French recognized and accepted by Francophones throughout the world; this “international French” is already spoken by well-educated French Canadians. To teach anything else to English-speaking Canadians would be absurd. The vocabularies could be expanded to include commonly used words unique to French Canada, but the basic vocabulary would differ little from *Le français fondamental*.²

*Le français
fondamental*

654. The variant of English to be taught to French-speaking Canadians is less easily described. English is far less standardized and, although Anglophone Canadians may be concerned about imprecision in the expression of ideas, they are much less concerned with differences in pronunciation; even the choice between English or American spelling is often arbitrary. This more permissive attitude means that there is no accepted “English Canadian English.” The English now taught as a second language in French-language schools in Canada may vary from one region to another. In general the variant taught accepts North American rather than British pronunciation. Unless Canadian English becomes more standardized, a more rigid uniformity is impossible. Fortunately, the permissive attitude towards variants of English means that any of these forms is accepted as a suitable medium of communication in Canada.

Variants of
English

4. The cultural orientation

655. Language cannot be taught in a cultural vacuum. The interest of the student and his success in grasping the structure of the language depend in part on his ability to associate the language with a human society. Language teachers have long recognized the need to teach the second language within a cultural context, and textbooks and

¹ Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec, III (Montreal, 1965), § 611.
² See footnote to § 549.

teaching aids have always been based on material dealing with the history, the cultural heritage, or the contemporary life of the society in which the language is spoken.

656. In Canada, French and English, as second languages, are taught within a cultural context, but our investigation of the textbooks being used has shown that they are presented primarily as foreign languages. This is deplorable for two reasons. First, since a language must be taught in a cultural context, it is regrettable that language teachers have chosen to deal with taxis, museums, and historical events in foreign capitals and have their students go to the Seine—or to the Thames or the Hudson—rather than to the St. Lawrence. It is not the primary function of second-language teaching to inform students about Canada but, for the students, an awareness of the historical traditions or the contemporary life of their compatriots would be relevant and useful.

Recommendation
36

657. Second—and even more important—are the pedagogical advantages of using the Canadian scene for the teaching of the second languages. Motivation is the key to successful language learning. This is why the language is always associated with a society—the interest of the student in the society gives him a motive for learning the language. In Canada students already have an interest in their compatriots. They learn about them in history and geography, they read about them in the daily newspapers, they hear about them on television or in casual conversation. The interest is there and language teachers should take advantage of it. Textbooks, filmstrips, tapes, magazines, and radio and television programmes should all reflect the fact that the second language is the language of other Canadians. **We recommend that French and English as second languages should be taught not as foreign languages but with an emphasis on the Canadian milieu in which these languages are used.**

Language
teaching at
university

658. The focus on the Canadian milieu should also be continued at the university level. The majority of university students take only introductory courses in the second language and our research has shown that they are principally concerned with improving their language skills. These students are not primarily interested in reading novels, poems, or plays—French or English; they are interested in the contemporary world. Students may gain a deeper appreciation of the language by reading literary masterpieces but, for university introductory classes, good prose on subjects relevant to their experiences will certainly sustain a higher level of student interest. The ideas expressed in essays on social life and politics in Canada and even in some political speeches would attract the attention of the student and so accelerate the learning

of the language. Many students who specialize in the second language at university will become teachers of this language in the schools. Such students will benefit directly from greater emphasis on the Canadian context, even in senior classes.

659. We do not mean to imply that French or English should be taught as if they were Canadian languages only. It is essential to include the broader French and English cultures for which these languages are the medium, and students should be aware of the best writing in these languages. In our opinion, however, too much emphasis has been given to European literature and to the European milieu. We believe the balance should be redressed. **We recommend that more emphasis be given to Canadian authors and to the Canadian milieu in the teaching of French and English as second languages at universities and colleges, especially in introductory courses.**

Recommendation
37

D. Providing Second-language Teachers

660. The improvement of second-language teaching in Canada depends on teachers. Our recommendations for an articulated programme beginning in the elementary school with a focus on the Canadian milieu are important, but no programme can be effective without properly trained teachers. This is true for any subject, but the teacher is of special importance in second-language teaching. He must understand the subject and be trained in the methods of teaching it, and he must also be able to converse in the second language. It was possible with the grammar-translation method for a teacher to teach from a book, explaining the rules, and drilling the students in vocabulary and grammar without ever actually speaking the language. Students taught in this way could pass the required examinations, as many Canadians can confirm. They can also affirm with regret that passing the examination did not mean that they could use the language. The oral method implies contact with the spoken language from the beginning, but this contact depends to a large extent on the teacher. A variety of teaching aids can supplement the work of the teacher in the classroom, but unless the teacher has acquired the conversational skills the oral method cannot be taught effectively.

661. There is no quick and simple way of meeting the demand for second-language teachers with language skills. An effective language-teaching programme from elementary school to university would produce these teachers, but such a programme is itself dependent on having trained teachers in the classroom. The immediate need for

Secondary level

trained teachers is less acute at the secondary and university levels than at the elementary level. Teachers in the secondary schools and universities are usually specialists, so most second-language teachers will have studied the language at the university level and will have acquired some competence in the language skills. At the same time, the students should have had some practice in the oral skills before reaching secondary school, so they should be able to spend more time on the reading and writing skills which require less immediate supervision.

Elementary level

662. Second-language teaching at the elementary level means primarily teaching the oral skills, so the teacher must be able to converse in the second language. At this level, however, the regular classroom teacher may teach all subjects on the curriculum. The advantage of a single classroom teacher is that the teacher develops a special understanding of each pupil and the pupil in turn develops confidence in his teacher; the problem from the point of view of second-language teaching is that few elementary teachers have the necessary oral skills. Until these skills can be effectively taught at the elementary level, however, reforms in second-language teaching remain visionary.

663. The problem of teaching second-language oral skills can be approached in three ways. First, it is apparent that more elementary school teachers must acquire the oral skills. Second, the students can be taught the second language by individuals who have these skills even though the regular classroom teacher does not. Third, a variety of teaching aids can relieve the teacher of some responsibilities and can bring the student into direct contact with the spoken language. Taken singly, none of these procedures offers an effective solution; together they can transform the teaching of second languages in Canada.

1. *Specialists in the classroom*

Finding teachers with language skills

664. Many people have suggested that there is an untapped resource of people already fluent in the second language although they have no professional qualifications. These individuals are seen as substitutes for the regular classroom teacher for the teaching of this language. The major objection is that it is not enough for a teacher to have the language skills; he must also be able to teach them, and this requires special talent and special training. On the other hand, we are faced with an emergency situation. Language teachers, especially at the elementary level, are needed *now* and we cannot wait until regular classroom teachers have acquired the language skills. There are many people who speak the second official language who could be used to

improve second-language teaching.¹ The problem is how to make the best use of this resource.

665. Anglophones have sometimes suggested that the demand for teachers of French could be met by hiring Francophone teachers from Quebec. These teachers would have the language skills as well as professional qualifications and teaching experience. Unfortunately there is already a shortage of teachers in the French-language schools, and in any case few such teachers are willing to move to an English-speaking community or to make a career of teaching French as a second language.

666. Teacher exchanges would meet some of these objections, but efforts to arrange such exchanges have been disappointing. In spite of the interest and the efforts of various organizations, there have been very few exchanges of Francophone and Anglophone teachers over the last decade. The interprovincial exchange programme administered by the Canadian Education Association has never involved more than six teachers in any single year since 1958, and nearly all of these have been exchanges between English-speaking provinces. Some exchanges have been arranged without using the facilities provided by the Canadian Education Association, but again the number is very small.² It is probable that most teachers prefer to visit other parts of the country during their holidays rather than face the disruption of moving their families for a year, even when no adjustment to a different linguistic and cultural milieu is involved.

Teacher
exchanges

667. Teacher exchanges between French and English school boards do offer many advantages. The teachers involved can bring vitality to the language classroom, not merely because they speak the second language fluently but also because they represent a different culture. Their impact will be felt by colleagues as well as students. Financial incentives, special arrangements for housing, and more publicity for exchange programmes would doubtless make such programmes more popular. It must be realized, however, that such exchanges can never become an integrated part of a language-teaching programme. Even the teachers who do move are not trained to teach their language as a second language. Teacher exchanges can provide valuable enrichment

¹ On the basis of a survey conducted by the Canadian Federation of University Women in 1966 it was estimated that among Anglophone women university graduates not now employed but who expressed some interest in becoming teachers, some 1,000 to 1,500 had a reasonable command of French and so might be considered potential teachers of French. See Patricia Cockburn, *Women University Graduates in Continuing Education and Employment* (Toronto, 1967), 98.

² A Stinson, "Travel and Exchange: An Examination of the Use of Travel and Exchange Programmes for the Development of 'Better Understanding' between Peoples in Canada," a working paper prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

for students, but they can never do much more than that. An articulated language programme cannot be built on one-year appointments of teachers from other parts of the country.

**Classroom
visitors**

668. Classroom visitors for the second-language period are another possibility. In most communities there are some people who speak the second language and who are available to assist the teacher. These visitors can contribute a great deal, especially in the first years of second-language teaching, because they can at least convince the students that they are dealing with a living language. Knowledge of the language is not enough, however, and without some training the classroom visitor may be little more than a diversion for the students.

669. In 1965 the province of Ontario initiated a five-week summer school course for Francophones who wished to teach French in the provincial schools. The candidates had to be fluent in French and to have at least the equivalent of senior matriculation. They were then given some instruction in methodology and child psychology. The successful candidates were given a temporary but renewable teacher's certificate. Some 540 candidates have completed this summer course and the department of Education is so satisfied with the results that it intends to continue the programme.

**Itinerant lan-
guage teachers**

670. Itinerant language teachers have also been employed by some school boards. These specialists replace the regular teachers in the classroom for the language periods and teach in a number of classrooms in different schools. They have special qualifications and often special aptitudes for language teaching. Experience suggests that they can improve the standards of second-language teaching. The best results, however, depend on the ability of the regular classroom teacher to consolidate the gains. The itinerant teacher is an invaluable aid but should not be considered as a complete substitute for the regular teacher.

Team teaching

671. Team teaching is probably the most satisfactory way of getting qualified second-language teachers into the elementary classroom. By having two or more teachers responsible for a class of students, some specialization is possible without losing the advantages of teachers having daily contact with the students. The need for specialization at the elementary level is not peculiar to the teaching of second languages, and it seems probable that team teaching will become more common in the future. In schools where team teaching can be introduced, only some teachers will need to know the second language and eventually the supply and the demand for such teachers will be brought into closer balance.

2. *Training the regular classroom teacher*

672. People already fluent in the second language cannot replace the regular classroom teacher, even if they are given some teacher training. The simple fact is that there are not enough potential specialists of this kind who will undertake the work. Not all regular classroom teachers can be expected to become fluent in the second language, but in many cases their language skills can be improved and they can be taught to use audio-visual aids to compensate for their limitations. Even so, many teachers now in the classroom will have to improve their language skills if the second-language programmes are to be effective.

673. Summer courses are the most obvious way to raise the competence of second-language teachers. Summer school is already part of the professional tradition for teachers in Canada. The Canadian university campus is often almost as crowded in July and August as it is during the regular term, and a large proportion of these summer students are teachers improving their professional qualifications. Local school boards and provincial authorities encourage teachers by salary schedules which reflect academic qualifications, and universities have responded to the demand. Summer courses are not a panacea—two months is little time and teachers must sacrifice their vacation to attend—but for second-language teachers they do offer opportunities to develop language skills and teaching methods.

674. Existing programmes for second-language teachers are inadequate for a number of reasons. Summer school credits towards university degrees or higher certification have usually been given for traditional academic courses or for methods courses in which fluency in a second language is at best an incidental benefit. There is no professional recognition for oral competence. Teachers may study conversational French but this is usually a non-credit extension course, not specifically designed for teachers. A recent study shows that the summer school enrolment in oral French in Canada in 1965 was about 1,930 students, about 900 of whom were from the United States; enrolment in oral English was about 480. It is estimated that existing facilities could absorb an additional 800 and 240 students respectively.¹ These programmes should be encouraged for the benefit of any adults who wish to improve their fluency in the second language, but they do not meet the needs of teachers who want to teach the second language. For these people, special programmes are required.

675. The shortage of adequately prepared second-language teachers is not peculiar to Canada. In the United States the need for such

Language institutes
in the United States

¹C. E. Parent and J. P. Harney, "Report on University Summer Schools of Oral French and English" to the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada Committee on the Centennial (mimeographed, no date), 13.

teachers was so acute that the National Defense Education Act of 1958 was seen as an emergency measure. The Canadian situation differs in many respects but much can be learned from the NDEA experiment. Under NDEA, a wide variety of language institutes has been organized for the training of language teachers. In 1958, 36 summer institutes were established; in 1965, there were over 80 in operation and some 20,000 teachers had been enrolled over these years.¹ These institutes differ from the usual summer school courses in two ways. First, the participants are isolated in the second-language milieu for six to eight weeks—in class, in language laboratories, at meals, and during recreation. Second, the programme is designed for teachers, with training in applied linguistics and teaching methods, and with attention to the cultural background of the society using the second language. The institutes are classified according to the language proficiency of the teachers or prospective teachers who attend them, and the more advanced institutes may be held in a foreign country. A university or college is authorized to conduct an institute only after it has shown that its facilities and equipment and the summer staff meet the required standards; the institutes are also inspected and appraised during the summer.

676. How successful have these institutes been? A careful study has led to the conclusion that they have been most effective in improving listening comprehension and speaking ability; no assessment of the improvement in teaching techniques or cultural knowledge has been made, but it can be assumed that the effect in thousands of classrooms has been significant. There is no doubt that the institutes have raised the level of second-language teaching in the United States.

Recommendation
38

677. We do not suggest that these institutes should be duplicated in Canada. The United States is concerned with foreign-language teaching, whereas in Canada priority must be given to teaching English and French as second official languages. Here both our resources and our needs are different. The basic problems of second-language teaching are universal, however, and the NDEA institutes can serve as useful guides. French- and English-language training centres can play an important role in the training of language teachers for Canadian elementary schools. **We recommend the establishment by provincial authorities of French- and English-language centres for the training of second-language teachers for elementary and secondary schools.**

678. These training centres would not replace existing summer language schools, which are already fulfilling a widely felt need; and it would not be enough to expand the present summer school arrange-

¹ For a description of these institutes, see R. Whalen, "The National Defense Education Act and Second-language Instruction: an American Model for Canada," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

ments. The centres would be new institutions designed specifically for the training of language teachers and prospective language teachers. Most of them would operate during the summer to coincide with the teachers' vacations. A programme extending for the full academic year offers many advantages, however, and we would hope that this longer programme would also be offered. Normally the learning centres would be located on a university or college campus, where physical facilities such as residences, classrooms, and language laboratories are available. We envisage an increasing degree of specialization as the programme develops, with separate centres for elementary and secondary school teachers, and with centres at different levels, depending on the language competence of the teachers enrolled at the centre. At the more elementary level, the teachers would attend centres in their own province. Those with more proficiency in the language would go to training centres in an area where this language is the normal medium of communication. Teachers might attend centres at different levels in successive years in order to improve their qualifications.

679. This is not the place to suggest in detail the curricula of such centres. The objective will be to train teachers to teach the second language. The development of the four language skills will be emphasized and it is assumed that both in and out of the classroom the second language will be used. Films, speakers, and special projects will supplement the formal classroom work. In addition to this, however, there will be instruction in teaching methods and the use of tests, there will be demonstration classes, and there will be information about the cultural heritage and the way of life of the people whose language is being studied. These will be professional training centres, concerned with the profession of second-language teaching. The curricula will be planned by experts and developed with experience.

680. The individual centres will be provincial institutions to the extent that they will be training teachers to teach the second language in the provincial schools. Provincial authorities will be responsible for assessing the desired annual enrolment from their province, and will also want to ensure that the programme of the centres attended by their teachers will be appropriate for their provincial second-language curriculum. It will also be the responsibility of the provincial governments to pay the basic cost for each provincial teacher attending a training centre.

Provincial
responsibility

681. These centres will not be provincial institutions in any narrow sense, and the more advanced centres, at least, will be located outside the province from which the teachers will come. For accounting purposes, therefore, we suggest that the operating cost per student

Recommendation
39

should be calculated for each centre and that each provincial government should pay the basic operating cost for the teachers from that province. This cost would include the proportionate share of the expense of the administrative and teaching staff, the rental of the teaching facilities, and the travelling expenses, as well as cost of the board and lodging, of the teachers attending the centre. The provincial authorities may, of course, impose a fee on the teachers who attend a centre, although it is hoped that any such fee would be nominal. **We recommend that the basic operating cost of the second-language training centres be paid by the respective provincial governments.**

682. The first step in the development of centres will be the creation of a small central bureau to co-ordinate the programme. This bureau will arrange for the accreditation and supervision of individual centres. It will establish the physical facilities and the staff requirements for each type of centre, authorize the establishment of all centres, and inspect and assess each centre while it is in operation. The bureau will not need a large permanent staff because its duties will be restricted to planning, advising, and supervising and will not include the administration of the centres themselves. Initially it would include two co-directors, one for French- and one for English-language centres, and a small staff. We would suggest that the bureau first study the experience of the NDEA administration in the United States and then begin its operations on a relatively small scale. For the first year it might be enough to accredit first-level French-language centres in the Atlantic provinces, Ontario, and the western provinces, and an English-language centre in Quebec, and one advanced French-language centre in Quebec and one advanced English-language centre in English-speaking Canada.

Recommendation
40

683. **We recommend the establishment of an interprovincial bureau of second-language training centres to co-ordinate the training programmes.** Since this bureau will be in some respects a central agency for the provincial departments of Education, we propose that it be attached to the recently established Canadian Council of Ministers of Education.

Recommendation
41

684. The federal government also has an interest in the development of an adequate programme for training second-language teachers. This interest is less obvious because the federal government has no direct responsibility for education. It is nonetheless a real interest because of the importance of improving second-language teaching in Canada. **We recommend a federal grant to the interprovincial bureau of second-language training centres to assist in the operating costs of the centres.** We believe that this grant should cover at least the salaries,

travel, and office expenses of the bureau as initially constituted in order to facilitate its establishment as quickly as possible. We also suggest that the grant should include funds to enable the bureau to appoint some special lecturers each summer to visit a number of institutes and so supplement the regular programme.

685. The federal government can also co-operate in another way. At present too few universities and colleges have the specialized teaching facilities, such as language laboratories, which they will require to be eligible as the site for a training centre. These facilities are a prerequisite for the training programme. They could also be used by the universities and colleges during the regular academic year. **We recommend that the capital costs of required specialized teaching facilities for second-language training centres be shared by the federal government and the government of the province in which these facilities are constructed, with the federal government paying at least 50 per cent of the capital costs.**

Recommendation
42

686. The training programmes will be primarily designed for teachers who wish to improve their qualifications as language teachers, although prospective teachers who have completed the academic requirements for a teacher's certificate should also be admitted. As an encouragement we strongly urge that credit towards a professional degree or a specialist certificate be given to teachers who have attended a training centre and have successfully completed the programme. The training these teachers receive will be as valuable professionally as other courses for which credits are now given. It is most important that provincial departments of Education give formal recognition to this fact.

687. The importance of in-service training should not be overshadowed by these special training centres. Even teachers who have the language skills and are trained in methods of language teaching and the use of teaching aids will often benefit from brief periods of in-service training and from professional guidance. No new course of study should ever be introduced without some discussion with the teachers to acquaint them with the reasons for adopting the new approach and to explain the implications of the new methods and teaching aids which will be part of this course. There should also be provincial supervisors with a specific responsibility for the second-language programmes in the provincial schools. These supervisors would visit language teachers, learn their reaction to existing courses of study, and give counsel and guidance on classroom procedures. These suggestions would be equally valid for other subjects on the curriculum; they deserve special mention in connection with second-language teaching because

In-service
training and
guidance

the courses of study for the subject are so frequently changed and because more changes can be expected in every province during the next few years.

3. *Teacher-training institutions*

688. The second-language training centres will be designed for teachers who wish to refresh or improve their language skills and to study language-teaching methods. Special consideration, however, must be given to the training of prospective teachers. It is difficult to make specific recommendations for the training of second-language teachers, because the existing training programmes vary so widely from province to province. In Quebec alone there were more than 100 teacher-training institutions before the changes introduced following the Parent report. There are far fewer in the other provinces, but a study prepared for the Commission listed 36 without attempting to be exhaustive. These institutions may train elementary or secondary school teachers or both; they may be separate colleges or they may be faculties or departments of a university; the programme may vary from one year to five years. Given this diversity, our recommendations must necessarily be guidelines rather than specific proposals.

Neglect of
the second
language

689. The striking fact about most of these institutions is the neglect of the second official language. Few of the English-language institutions, for example, require secondary school French for admission. French is seldom a compulsory subject of study at the institution, and rarely is there a course in language-teaching methods. There is no concerted effort to inform teachers about French Canadian society. Such information as may be provided comes indirectly from literature or Canadian history courses.¹ English as a subject is given more importance in French-language teacher-training institutions, but again there is little emphasis on language-teaching methods or the cultural background of English-speaking Canada. This indifference towards the second official language is all the more surprising when it is remembered that at the elementary level especially, more and more teachers are expected to teach the second language. Teacher-training institutions are not usually responsible for specialized training in any academic subject. For the elementary school teacher, however, some acquaintance with the second language and with language-teaching methods should be mandatory. Even at the secondary level, teachers with little training in the subject may find themselves teaching the second language.

Recommendation
43

690. The requirements for teachers vary between provinces and between institutions, and no recommendation will be equally applicable

¹ R. W. Torrens, "Teacher-training Institutions in Canada," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

in all cases. It is possible, however, to suggest minimum levels of achievement in the second language and training in the methodology of language teaching, even though we realize that some provinces have already adopted these requirements. For most language teachers the minimum requirements will fall far short of what is desirable. **We recommend that the equivalent of university entrance in the second official language should be a minimum requirement in all provinces for graduates of a teacher-training institution. We further recommend that all elementary and secondary school teachers who may teach the second official language should complete a course in second-language teaching methods.**

4. The role of the university in training second-language teachers

691. The language departments of universities and colleges also play a significant role in the training of language teachers and this role will become even more important as a university degree becomes a common requirement for a teacher's certificate. University language departments in the past have not been primarily concerned with language skills; they have been more concerned with literature or linguistics. It is obvious, however, that these skills are essential tools for any linguist or for any student of the literature written in a second language. It is also important to remember that a large proportion of the students who major or honour in the second language intend to become language teachers and for them these skills are essential. Such skills can most effectively be learned by concentrated practice and drill. Language departments, however, cannot monopolize the time of the student, who must study other subjects as well, and these departments are reluctant to use the available time to teach the language skills at the expense of literature or linguistics.

692. The dilemma of language departments will be resolved to some extent when students arrive at university with more highly developed language skills. Nonetheless, language departments must accept greater responsibility for students who plan to teach the second language as a subject in the schools, or who wish to learn the second official language without intending to become specialists in its literature. In each case there should be an emphasis on the oral skills and on contemporary society, with less attention given to great authors and to literary criticism. At a certain stage, however, language departments should be relieved of the burden of teaching these skills because such skills can be learned more effectively if the student is moved to the other language milieu.

Language teaching
at university

Transfer to
another university

693. This dilemma can be resolved. If students specializing in French (or English) as a second language could spend one academic year at a French- (or English-)language university, they would find themselves in a milieu in which it is easier to acquire the language skills. All their courses would be taught in the second language and all their extra-curricular activities would also bring them into contact with it.¹ The students would derive the most benefit from this year if they arrived with reasonable competence in oral skills. For this reason, this academic year should be the second or third year of undergraduate work. It is assumed that the student would take not only language and literature courses in this year but also at least one course outside his specialized field. Some students will absorb less from the lectures because of language difficulties; as compensation they will improve their language skills. The student should return to his own university for his final undergraduate year at least. In this way, each language department will be able to ensure that its graduates have achieved required academic standards.

694. At English-language universities, this special year should be mandatory for all honours students and optional for all students majoring in French. At French-language institutions this special year would be mandatory for graduate students specializing in English and optional for undergraduates with a concentration in English. Eventually it might also be extended to students in other disciplines who wish to improve their skills in the second language.

Cost of transfer

695. Some funds must be provided for the students to compensate them for the additional expenses involved in this year. The grant to each student should cover travelling expenses and living expenses for a month of orientation in the new milieu before the university term begins. It might also include a small amount to compensate for the additional cost of living which a student often incurs by attending a more remote university. The programme we are proposing would not reduce the cost of university attendance. Indeed, a transfer could mean a financial sacrifice for students entitled to scholarships tenable only at their university or within their own province. We would hope that at least the provincial scholarships for these students would be made tenable for the exchange year.

Recommendation
44

696. The host university will also incur extra expenses, because fees paid by any student usually cover less than half the cost of his training.

¹ For many years the Canadian Union of Students has administered a student transfer programme—the Interregional Scholarship Exchange Plan—with the financial assistance of the Canada Council and more recently of the Centennial Commission. This plan offers a useful guide for developing such a programme, although most transfers were interregional and few occurred between French- and English-language universities.

These transfer students will also impose special burdens on universities; at least some literature and language courses will have to be designed to meet their special needs, and universities will have to accept some responsibility for the accommodation and extra-curricular life of these students—if only to ensure that they associate with the regular students and with people in the community. There is always the danger that the exchange students will become a separate clique and lose the advantages of living in a different language milieu. We suggest that a reasonable grant to the host university for these students would be equal to the normal provincial grant to the university for a student at this level. Most universities are provincial institutions and, apart from student fees, the costs of university education are largely financed by provincial grants. The provinces, however, cannot be expected to subsidize the training of large numbers of students who come from other provinces and will be returning to them. The financial burden would be especially great on the French-language universities which would have to absorb all the Anglophone students. The grants to the students will make it possible for them to spend a year in a different region of Canada and in a different cultural milieu. The benefits of this transfer programme, apart from the advantages to the individual student, will accrue to the country as a whole and not to any specific province. The federal government should provide the grants to the students and to the host universities because it has a special interest in promoting the acquisition of the second official language. The federal government has already subsidized the various travel and exchange programmes of the Centennial Commission and the apparent success of these programmes justifies the application of the same principle to student transfers. **We recommend that the federal government meet the cost of a one-year transfer programme for university students specializing in the second official language.**

697. The administration of this programme will require close liaison between universities and more particularly between language departments. It would be undesirable, for example, to have all the French-language students sent to Toronto. Some sensible distribution among the available universities must be arranged. Language departments must know what courses will be available to their students during their exchange year and must be assured that suitable academic standards will be maintained. The host universities will have to be sure that the visiting students will be able to benefit from courses taught in their second language. The transfer programme can be administered only by an organization closely associated with Canadian universities. The Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada is the appropriate

Recommendation
45

institution because it is an administrative body responsible to the universities and colleges. It should also be noted that the AUCC has already shown an active interest in the problems of second-language teaching at the university level. **We recommend that the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada administer the transfer programme for students specializing in the second official language.** We would expect that the AUCC would invite the cooperation of the Canadian Union of Students and the Union générale des étudiants du Québec in establishing the exchange students in their new milieus.

698. We have restricted our recommendations to students specializing in the second official language. Many of these students will become second-language teachers and so merit special concern. Students in other fields, however, would also benefit from living for a year in the other society, and the country in turn would benefit from such transfers. It seems wise to begin this transfer programme with language students, but after a few years of experience the AUCC should seriously consider the possibility of expanding it to include students in other disciplines. Careful evaluation of the programme at regular intervals would provide a basis for any recommended changes.

699. In concluding this section on the provision of second-language teachers, we wish to repeat what was said at the beginning: the improvement of second-language teaching in Canada depends on the teachers. There is already a shortage of teachers who can teach the second languages, especially with the oral method being introduced at the elementary level. We have discussed the use of specialists, the provision of institutes for those now teaching, and a university transfer programme for prospective language teachers. All of these approaches are necessary if the teachers are to be provided.

700. We wish to emphasize the extreme importance of our recommendations concerning adequately trained language teachers. Without these teachers, the objectives of the second-language programmes will not be achieved. This will inevitably mean delays in implementing many Commission recommendations that depend on increased bilingualism in Canada.

E. Teaching Aids

Audio-visual aids

701. Classroom teachers have always used teaching aids; even one-room schools had blackboards and textbooks. The electronic marvels of the 20th century have added new dimensions to teaching aids. Radio, records, and tapes can now preserve and reproduce the spoken word in the classroom, and television and films combine both visual and

aural features. These modern teaching aids have a special importance in language teaching because the teaching of a language depends so heavily on oral presentation. Audio-visual aids enable students to hear the second language spoken and to see it presented in its normal cultural context. These new aids offer so many advantages that they could be called the wonder-drugs of second-language teaching; they have been heralded as the painless and almost effortless cure for all who suffer from unilingualism.

702. Experience has tempered this enthusiasm. From a technical point of view, these aids can transmit and reproduce speech with remarkable fidelity—an important point for a classroom in which neither students nor teacher may be sure of pronunciation or speech rhythms. The programmes also have the advantage that they can be carefully planned and edited; vocabulary and language structures can be introduced at appropriate times in the language-learning sequence, and repetition and review can be unobtrusively integrated with new material. Audio-visual aids have the further advantage that they can be filmed in a studio or on location, and can link the language with actions and with physical surroundings which could not be duplicated in the classroom. Nonetheless, they are only aids. They are projected to an audience and, despite possible audience participation in songs and responses, the listeners are primarily passive and receptive. Something more is needed if students are to acquire the active skills of speaking or writing the second language. Electronic aids should be an important part of any second-language teaching programme but they are a supplement and not a substitute for the classroom teacher.

703. The language laboratory, for example, is becoming fairly common as a tool to facilitate repetition, or to give an oral component to work set for time outside the classroom. But after several years of almost uncritical enthusiasm from the teaching profession, many former assumptions about language laboratories are now the subject of widespread controversy. The first such assumption is that a pupil can accurately analyze for himself the special characteristics of a foreign sound. This is questionable, for the training we undergo in learning our own language teaches us to assimilate strange sounds to their nearest native equivalent, and so what we think we hear is often a “translation” of what is really said. If a pupil cannot hear a foreign sound accurately, he will certainly not be able to judge his imitation of it without special training. The second assumption is that practice, tirelessly directed by the machine, makes perfect. Recent experimentation by Jakobovits and Lambert at McGill shows that repetition of the same sequence over and over again can, if taken too far, induce

Use of language
laboratory

“satiation,” a type of mental indigestion that causes rejection of what was meant to be learned.¹

704. The answer to this dilemma is not the wholesale rejection of language laboratories, but care in the training of those who use them. Every training college or university should have a language laboratory, both to teach the language skills and to teach the limitations of such aids, even if the teachers it trains might not have access to language laboratories in the schools. Few people have so far grasped the fact that if a language laboratory is to do any good, a pupil must be trained to use it and so conditioned that the experience in the laboratory will be beneficial.

705. A laboratory should be considered part of the resources at the disposal of both teacher and pupil and it should play a constant functional role in the course. Installation of a laboratory demands a complete reorganization of the language course. Readers will note that this sentence puts the cart before the horse, but unfortunately this is often the progression of events. As it is, we do not yet know all the capabilities—or all the pitfalls—of language laboratories.

706. With this in mind we would recommend further research into the best format of language laboratories and the best ways of utilizing them. We certainly feel that every training college in the country should have a language laboratory to teach both content and method, but practical difficulties preclude anything more sweeping. Where regional school boards think that use of laboratories would justify the expense in initial outlay and maintenance, they might consider mobile laboratories such as are used in parts of Germany. Factors like distances from school to school, the type and state of roads, and the terrain would have to be considered. If an experienced specialist were hired to use such a laboratory, skilled teaching could be made available to large numbers of students.

Aids must be
integral part of
programme

707. One of the limitations of teaching aids has been that they have not always been used as an integral part of the course of study. We have already stressed the importance of an articulated sequence for a second-language programme, with each year building on the skills and knowledge already acquired. This means that the course of study for each year must be carefully planned and the ascribed aims—in terms of language skills, vocabulary and language structure, and cultural content—must then be given specific form within the classroom. All aspects of classroom activity, including teaching aids, must be designed in terms of these aims, and must be co-ordinated with each other. If the student

¹ L. Jakobovits and W. E. Lambert, “Verbal Satiation and Changes in the Intensity of Meaning,” *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 60, No. 6 (1960), 376-83.

is being introduced to a new grammatical structure, for example, it could be presented in different ways by the teacher, the textbook, by tape and by film, and the special characteristics of each medium of instruction might be used to advantage to complete the lesson. The course of study must not be rigid, needless to say. No two classes of students are identical and the teacher must decide when new concepts are to be introduced and when review is required. But the sequence in which concepts are introduced must be planned in advance, and all the appropriate teaching aids should be available when the teacher needs them.

708. Too little attention has been given in the past to the co-ordination of all aspects of classroom teaching, with the courses of study for each year in turn being integrated into an articulated second-language sequence to the end of secondary school. The major obstacles have been time and money. Provincial departments of Education cannot wait until an elaborate course of study has been designed and tested; they have students already in the classroom waiting to be taught the second language. At the same time, no provincial government has felt able to invest the large sums of money required for the preliminary research and the production of such courses of study. The result has been that, although audio-visual teaching aids have been produced, they have rarely been part of a co-ordinated language-teaching programme.

709. Radio and television programmes are good examples. While a teacher is restricted in his classroom by the facilities of demonstration he can get into the room, television and radio have no such limitations. They can give a language lesson the reality that classroom presentation lacks by placing the material in its cultural context and, indeed, by making the pupils forget that they are being taught. Because of the extra dimension of sight, television achieves this more effectively than radio. All types of lessons are possible, from those patterned on the classroom to lessons in which no teacher appears and the situation represented does its own teaching. The technical resources of broadcasting studios run to aids like puppetry, film clips, and an astonishing range of stage properties. In this society, where children are accustomed to slickly produced programmes, school broadcasts must be well prepared or they might as well not exist. This is a matter for very close collaboration between broadcasting and educational experts. An educational programme can only gain from having many of the characteristics of good entertainment.

Use of radio
and television

710. The class teacher plays a critical role in the utilization of radio and television programmes. Though the programme lessons may be complete in themselves, it is the class teacher's responsibility to make sure that his pupils learn from them. This entails preparation and

follow-up. Ultimately it means that the programmes must fit into the scheme of work the teacher has to follow. This may or may not be the responsibility of the teacher, but he is the one who has to do the work. It is important for him to regard the television programme as an aid and not a rival, an assistant that can give students something no class teacher, no matter how competent, could give. At the same time the teacher must be prepared to help his class participate, and to supply the active component which will be lacking in the programme. Television teaching is one form of team teaching that could become vitally important to language learning in Canada.

711. One cannot improvise the production of suitable radio and television programmes together with the textbooks, records, tapes, slides, and all the other audio-visual aids required for a co-ordinated programme. Provincial departments of Education must know what they want, which means that they must have a detailed plan of an articulated language programme into which these aids will fit. Such a programme must be based on a sophisticated knowledge of research in the area of language teaching. This in itself is a major undertaking. So much research is being done in related fields of linguistics that no single scholar can keep up with the articles appearing every year in scholarly journals, published in a number of languages. If one adds to this the research in audio-visual techniques and audio-visual equipment, the problem becomes staggering.

Recommendation
46

712. No single province, however rich or ambitious, can casually undertake the planning and preparation of an articulated second-language programme. The cost will be even greater if the grade at which the programme is introduced is gradually lowered. With each shift the existing aids will have to be modified or changed to fit into the new sequence. Regional co-operation is possible where the second-language programmes are similar, and the Atlantic and Prairie provinces already have some experience in common programmes and shared broadcasts. Even if second-language programmes are planned at a regional level, however, there will be some duplication of costs, because the fundamental problems of research and production will be the same for all regions. But in Canada at the moment, word of mouth is the only way of finding out what teaching methods are being used in other provinces or what teaching aids have been produced. In some cases, teaching aids for the same grade have been independently prepared for two metropolitan school boards within the same province. Waste and duplication are inevitable without some central clearing house for information on developments in second-language teaching,

at home and abroad. **We recommend the establishment by the federal government of a language research council concerned with research and development related to second-language teaching in Canada.**

713. This council would be an independent body not unlike the National Research Council. Close liaison with the provincial departments of Education would be essential because of its responsibilities. For the purpose of reporting to Parliament, however, it could come under the authority of the Secretary of State. One of the first duties of the language research council would be the development of a comprehensive library on all aspects of language teaching. The holdings of this library would be open to scholars and curriculum planners. At the same time the council would prepare regular digests of research developments in areas of language teaching. No individual can read all the research material which may be relevant, and these digests would provide summary descriptions and assessments and so make research findings accessible.

714. It is assumed that the council would not attempt to duplicate the work now being done by language research centres with international reputations or by linguistics departments in Canada. It would be primarily concerned with the research and the developments especially relevant for second-language teaching in Canada. It would also keep up with changes in second-language teaching programmes in Canada and act as a clearing house for this kind of information.

715. The need for a central clearing house for information on existing provincial programmes and proposed changes has become obvious to us. In discussions with provincial officials we have learned that they are often unaware of research or of special programmes in other provinces which were of special interest to them. The language research council would do much to foster interprovincial co-operation, merely by keeping the provinces better informed on the programmes and plans of other provinces.

716. The council could also play a more positive role. It would be more than a reference library because it would be staffed by experts with an extensive knowledge of second-language teaching. Provincial authorities would be able to refer to it for more than information. The council would be in a position to offer advice and even to appraise proposed provincial programmes.

Advisory role

717. Cost is one of the major obstacles to curriculum reform today. Provincial departments are eager to plan new language-teaching programmes and to design and produce the various teaching aids which must be integral parts of these programmes. Because of costs, however, most provincial departments of Education have had to adapt tapes and films and other aids which were available, even though they might

not be completely suitable and could not be easily integrated with the course of study. Some provincial departments, alone or in collaboration with departments of adjoining provinces, have produced their own aids, but even these departments would admit that they have not had the resources to undertake the desirable research and experimentation.

Interprovincial
co-operation

718. Co-ordinated programmes, complete with appropriate teaching aids, would be more feasible if the costs of design and development could be shared. Interprovincial co-operation in this field is not easy because co-operation in design and development would mean that the second-language curricula would be the same in each co-operating province. This is probably feasible for regions such as the Atlantic or the western provinces, and the former have already collaborated in the production of radio and television broadcasts. Between regions, the differences in language experience and language attitude are probably too great to make common curricula possible or desirable. Even here, however, some costs could be shared. Teaching aids could be designed which might need only minor adaptations to be appropriate for use in the schools of a number of provinces. This can only be done, however, if representatives of the respective departments of Education participate at the planning and design stage. Close collaboration between provincial officials responsible for second-language curricula can also reduce the costs because some of the costs of research and development can be shared.

719. The language research council can play an important role in this interprovincial collaboration. It is intended that it should have funds to conduct research in fields which are clearly of national concern. Language aptitude tests and language achievement tests are an obvious example. If reliable tests could be developed they would be invaluable not only to provincial education authorities but also to the federal Public Service. These tests, however, require elaborate and sophisticated techniques for their design and appraisal. Such tests have been developed in the United States for aptitude and achievement in French as a second language. They are not considered entirely suitable for Anglophone students in Canada, although these were the tests we had to use in our project to test the achievement of Anglophone university freshmen. There are no sophisticated instruments to test Francophone students' knowledge of English.

720. The resources of the language research council will also permit collaboration with the provinces on a wider scale. Provincial authorities may hesitate to create a provincial research section which could plan and develop suitable courses of study for its second-language programme. They might prefer to have the council design provincial

courses of study, or courses of study suitable to a group of provinces, together with all the relevant teaching aids. The provinces would be responsible for the additional costs incurred by the council in such a project but at least the wasteful expenditures on duplicated research and production at the provincial level would be avoided.

721. The language research council would not only be concerned with second-language teaching and research at the elementary or secondary school levels. The federal government is already involved in a second-language teaching programme of its own. The Language Bureau of the Public Service Commission now offers second-language training in either French or English to civil servants. This programme has expanded rapidly since the first students were enrolled in 1964 and now operates on an annual budget of more than \$4,000,000. The Language Bureau has not only established training schools; it has also found it necessary to modify and revise the courses it has adopted in order to develop courses more suited to the background and the special needs of civil servants. The result is the Curriculum and Test Development Division of the Bureau's Language Training Directorate, which has conducted research programmes in linguistics and curricula and has developed courses and special methodologies as well as various batteries of tests. The language research council would clearly benefit from close contact with the language-teaching programme within the Public Service, and, at the same time, the research being undertaken by the Language Bureau should be closely associated with the language research council.¹

Federal
government's
programme

722. The federal government also has a direct concern in the training of translators and interpreters because of the growing demands within the Public Service. It does not seem appropriate to recommend a federal school for translators and interpreters, but the language research council could give special attention to research on translation and interpretation and might also provide financial assistance and advice to any school which would train the specialists which the Public Service requires.

F. Conclusion

723. Our terms of reference specifically asked us "to recommend what could be done to enable Canadians to become bilingual." Our recommendations on second-language teaching follow directly from this injunction. We have repeatedly explained that we do not expect all

¹ A more detailed study of the Language Training Directorate, with recommendations on its organization, will appear in the Book of our *Report* dealing with the Public Service.

Canadians to become bilingual. We believe, however, that all Canadians should have the opportunity to learn the second official language if they wish to do so.

724. Bilingualism, in the sense of the alternate use of the two languages by an individual, is a broad and imprecise concept. As we have seen, there are four basic language skills—understanding the spoken language, and speaking, reading, and writing the language. A person who has acquired one of these skills may be considered bilingual; under other circumstances all four skills may be required if the individual is to operate in the second language. The degree of perfection in one or all of these skills may also vary widely among people who are considered bilingual. Our concern, therefore, has not been to provide the opportunity to become highly proficient in all skills of the second official language. Rather, we wanted to ensure that all children should have an introduction to the language which would make it possible for them to further develop or re-acquire the skills after leaving school. The school is the place where the capacity for bilingualism can be established. After graduation the individual will have the choice of which skills, if any, he wishes to develop and the degree of perfection he wishes to acquire.

725. The aims of second-language teaching are relatively uncontroversial. Most Canadians agree that a knowledge of the second official language is desirable. The problem is not one of aims but of means, not whether the second language should be taught, but how it can be most effectively taught. If all Canadians are to have the opportunity to become bilingual, all students now entering school must study the second official language. With this principle established it is only a question of how to provide the resources which the language-teaching programmes will require. Our recommendations suggest that priority be given to the training of teachers and to the development of an articulated sequence of courses of study, together with the necessary teaching aids. Taken separately, none of the recommendations is startling or radical; taken together, they will make effective second-language teaching possible. This in itself will be revolutionary.

A. Introduction

726. Cultural duality in Canada depends upon the coexistence of the two major cultures and on co-operation between them. Education is of vital importance because it can help create the conditions which will allow each culture to survive and flourish. Thus, an adequate education in the mother tongue is one of the prerequisites for cultural development. We have therefore dealt specifically with the problem of schools for the official-language minorities across the country.

727. Education can also make a major contribution to fostering co-operation between the two cultures. Contacts are inevitable between institutions and individuals, and these will become more frequent and more profound as our cultural duality is more adequately reflected in our national institutions and our national character. This interaction will depend on effective communication between the two linguistic and cultural communities. We have therefore been concerned with improving the teaching of the second language in order to facilitate this communication.

Co-operation
requires
communication

728. Effective communication between the two groups, however, depends on more than the ability to translate the written or spoken word. One does not need to be an expert in semantics to realize that words can be misunderstood if they are torn from their cultural context. In attempting to express our ideas we all rely on metaphors and similes, quotations drawn from our literary heritage, and references to a shared tradition. Within the two cultural groups not everybody will understand some regional or local terms, but the difficulty of effective communication is obviously greater where there are different literary and historical traditions. Here it is not a simple question of vocabulary,

but one of meaning and nuance. Indeed, the difficulty of communication becomes itself a confirmation of the existence not merely of two linguistic groups, but of two cultural groups.

729. This difficulty can be suggested by a few random examples. The unwary Anglophone, confident in his grasp of French grammar and vocabulary, may still be confused by the comment that “c’est pas la tête à Papineau,” and may not appreciate the distinction between “les rongeurs de balustres” and “les mangeurs de curés.” Among Anglophones, many of the traditional sayings or phrases have regional origins and may not be widely known; Maritime expressions, for example, may puzzle some Anglophones on the Prairies. Some expressions, however, will have a richer meaning for most Anglophones than for Francophones who hear them used in conversation. A Franco-phone may not sense the social context implied by references to “beer parlours” and “pool halls,” and may not be fully aware of the long traditions implied when someone is described as “coming of old Loyalist stock.”

730. Not only the words and phrases but even the usual topics of conversation may differ from one group to the other. Everybody has had the experience of missing a popular television programme and so finding himself almost left out of conversations the next day. It is easy to imagine the isolation when an individual doesn’t even know the names of the programmes or artists. Effective communication may not depend on familiarity with certain phrases or with popular entertainment. The problem becomes more serious, however, when words have an apparent equivalent in the other language but when important nuances may be lost in translation. Institutions such as the family or the church, co-operatives, and corporations have subtly different meanings for Anglophones and Francophones, and the distinctions will be lost if the cultural context is not appreciated. This explains why the recent efforts to distinguish between “nation” and “*la nation*” led to discussions of the context in which Francophones and Anglophones use the word. A knowledge of the second language is only a beginning; some knowledge of the other society is required before ideas and attitudes can be shared.

The cultural
question affects
all Canadians

731. We have already referred to the importance of the cultural context in our discussion of the curricula of the minority-language schools and in the teaching of the second official language.¹ But the problem of effective communication between the two cultural groups is too important to be treated indirectly. It is not peculiar to the linguistic minorities or even to those who come into direct contact with the second language. It is a problem concerning all Canadians, because all of us

¹ See §§ 381-2, 628-30, 655-9.

are affected in some way by our cultural duality. Political decisions at the federal, provincial, and even municipal levels will often affect citizens belonging to each cultural group; so will the decisions of administrators, businessmen, and private individuals. Unless the decisions take cultural differences into consideration, there may be resentment and the good intentions of the decision-makers may even be nullified. Cultural duality and partnership affect us all.

732. Education in Canada must pay some attention to our cultural duality and to the implications of partnership. Students will remain ignorant of the nature of Canada if these aspects are ignored. Indeed, the existence of two cultural groups and their interaction is of such fundamental importance that it is not really an exaggeration to say that any judgements about Canada will be inadequate if these factors are ignored. This is true for any courses which deal with Canada at school or at university; it is also true for less formal instruction. Education does not stop at the school door. Youth organizations and adult education agencies, both public and private, develop programmes designed to continue the individual's learning opportunities and increase his understanding of himself and his society. Many of these agencies have rendered conspicuous public service over the past few years in providing opportunities for open discussion on cultural problems. They too have an important role to play in continuing the dialogue and the search for understanding between the two cultural communities.

733. Part 3 of Book II will, therefore, be concerned with this awareness of our cultural duality and with the means by which a better understanding of the nature of Canada can be developed. We recognize that any reference to the nature of Canada is hazardous. National identity is always an elusive concept and it is even more so when the national boundaries include two major cultural communities. Scholars disagree over the traditions, the characteristics, and the aspirations of each of these groups when studied separately, and are likely to disagree even more vehemently over the relationship between them in the past, present, and future. We want to make clear from the beginning our belief that such disagreement and debate are both natural and salutary. The fact that two versions of Canadian history exist is merely evidence of the fact that two societies exist in Canada. It is certainly not our intention to suggest an authorized version of Canadian duality. Our research has taught us much about the complexity of the problem, but it could not provide us with universally accepted value judgements upon which such an interpretation would be based.

734. It should also be stressed that we do not believe Canadian scholars and students should concentrate all their attention on aspects

**Towards a better
understanding of
the nature of
Canada**

of our cultural duality. Many fruitful fields of study and research are remote from this problem and the idea of a Canadian approach to science or mathematics is obviously repugnant. Even for those who choose some subject dealing with Canada, the emphasis need not be on the relations between the two main cultural groups. Any aspect of one of these groups, studied in isolation, is a legitimate area of research and may, in the long run, contribute more to the understanding of Canada as a whole than the study of a broader topic.

735. In spite of the hazards, however, the topic is too important to be ignored. Any subject broadly classified as social studies will give the student some impression of the nature of the society referred to. Whenever the course deals with Canada, whether it is entitled history, geography, political science, sociology, economics, civics, or social studies, it will be shaped by value judgements about the nature of Canada. These judgements may be explicit or implicit, but in either case they will determine the selection and the presentation of the material. The student's impression of both the major cultural communities and of the relations between them may well be determined by interpretations based on these judgements. His awareness of the other group and of its outlook will in turn affect his capacity to understand its point of view or to communicate his own point of view effectively.

736. It is important to know the value judgements encountered by the student. If textbooks and teachers all start from different premises and offer differing interpretations, the student may find it confusing but he will not unwittingly accept one point of view as the truth. If, on the other hand, each cultural group has a conventional interpretation of our cultural relations, and this conventional approach pervades all the courses which refer to Canada, the student will almost certainly adopt this version as his own. In the long run, conventional attitudes determine the relations between the two cultures. The nature of the Canadian partnership depends on what one group believes about the other.

B. Cultural Duality and Canadian History

Opinions on the
teaching of
Canadian history

737. During our public hearings we were often reminded of the importance of Canadian history, and this concern was also reflected in many of the briefs. One brief stated explicitly, "We believe the subject of history to be of extreme importance in education, for it is partially through it that attitudes towards one's country and others are formed."¹ This widespread belief that a study of the past affects present

¹ Brief presented by the United Baptist Convention of the Atlantic Provinces, 36.

attitudes was expressed frequently and forcefully, because there was general agreement that Canadian history as it is taught today tends to maintain and even strengthen cultural antagonisms. The history taught to English-speaking Canadians was criticized for paying only cursory attention to the pre-Conquest era. The history taught to French-speaking Canadians was criticized for ignoring more recent events outside Quebec. The writers of the briefs were concerned because the interpretations of past events were so different that there seemed to be not one but two versions of Canadian history. The criticisms were not confined to references to the major cultural groups. In the schools, it was claimed, Indians are indelibly associated with tomahawks and firewater in the early days and then forgotten, while central Europeans appear as peasant immigrants in sheepskin coats and then vanish forever. The consensus of the briefs was that by omissions and—more seriously—by cultural biases, we are fostering cultural divisions and animosities in Canada.

738. The briefs were in general agreement on the remedy as well as the faults. Canadian history, according to one brief, should transmit “the positive values of each of the two main groups, while at the same time implanting in their minds an objective picture of Canada’s past—recognizable to both as the same history—as well as a sense of loyalty to their country which includes good-will towards all of its many groupings.”¹ A stress on objectivity and lack of bias led to the suggestion in many briefs that a common version of Canadian history should be agreed upon and taught in all Canadian schools. Others warned that complete objectivity was impossible but believed that sharp contradictions in facts and interpretations could and should be eliminated. All of them would at least agree that “in the life of this country, there was never more urgent need for the teaching of our past with imagination and sympathy.”²

C.A. Study of Canadian History Textbooks

739. An exhaustive study of how Canadian history is taught would have required an analysis of the history curriculum in each province, a careful examination of the textbooks, an assessment of teachers’ qualifications, teaching methods, and the teachers’ biases, a study of examinations and the marking of examinations, and even a careful survey of student attitudes attributable to the study of history. Such

Limitations
of the study

¹ Brief presented by the Alumnae Society of McGill University, Study 4, 9

² Brief presented by the Canada Council, 12.

an extensive research programme was out of the question. It was decided to limit the study to a comparison of Canadian history textbooks in use in the schools. A selection was made of widely used textbooks in English and French from both the elementary and secondary levels and an analysis was made of the versions of Canadian history presented in these books.¹

The importance
of the textbook

740. We are aware of the theoretical risks involved in this restricted approach. History teachers may present an interpretation not found in the textbook, and examination marks may reward students who disagree with the textbook version. Observation, however, suggests that this rarely happens. The textbook tends to become the *official* version of Canadian history even for the teacher, who wants his students to pass the examination. In any case, teachers will rarely have the confidence or the knowledge to contradict the "expert" testimony of an approved textbook. A UNESCO report concluded that "the trend is towards diminishing exclusive reliance on the textbook in classroom instruction, but the textbook remains the staple in the educational diet."² As for the students, the printed word is likely to be accepted without question. There is likely to be a close correlation between the points of view printed in the textbook and the interpretation accepted by the student.³

Two versions of
Canadian history

741. A study of these textbooks shows that there are two versions of Canadian history—an English version and a French version. Inevitably there were differences and disagreements between individual authors. History is an attempt to interpret past events, to explain them in terms of cause and effect, and to fit them into a sequence or pattern revealing their significance. Historians, therefore, constantly pass judgements on the past and their judgements are naturally influenced by their views on human nature and the appropriate roles of human institutions. Some differences between textbooks could be explained by the age or the religious affiliation of the students for whom they were written. It was nonetheless striking that the English-language textbooks, written by different authors and for different grades, interpreted the past in much the same way; the French-language textbooks, again written by

¹ M. Trudel and G. Jain, "Étude de la conception de l'histoire canadienne," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

² H. J. Abraham, "The Improvement of History Textbooks in the Interests of International Understanding," *UNESCO Chronicle* (January, 1956), II, No. 1.

³ A study entitled the National History Project was initiated by the Governing Board of Trinity College School, Port Hope, Ontario, in 1965. This project included student and teacher questionnaires and interviews, classroom observation, and a study of textbooks and courses of study. The analysis of the data is not yet complete, but the preliminary findings corroborate our impression that the textbook versions of Canadian history are still dominant in the classroom. We are grateful to A. B. Hodgetts of Trinity College School for bringing these preliminary findings to our attention.

different authors and for different grades, also shared a common view of the past, but one which differed markedly from that of the English textbooks.

742. The existence of two versions of Canadian history is not surprising. The textbook authors, whether Francophone or Anglophone, are not only historians. They are also members of a cultural group, influenced by the traditions and aspirations of the group. Their interpretations and judgements reflect the values their society respects and fosters. The comparison between French and English textbooks merely illustrates the existence of two societies in Canada, with each society primarily concerned with its own goals and the values associated with these goals.

Two societies

743. In the French-language textbooks the dominant theme is the development and survival of French Canadian society. The selection of historical incidents and their interpretation are determined by this theme. Men and events are judged by their contribution to *la survivance*. In English-language textbooks the central theme is the establishment and survival of Canada as a political entity in North America. This theme is less obvious than the theme of the French textbooks, but it is nonetheless pervasive. For every period in our history the underlying theme determines what events are considered historically significant. With two such different themes it is not surprising that we have two very different versions of Canadian history.

Two main themes

744. The space devoted to different historical periods reflects these two interpretations. French-language textbooks dwell at great length on the study of New France, dividing it into the period of the establishment of the French colony before 1663, followed by the period of royal government lasting until the Conquest. Usually half the textbook is devoted to these two eras when French Canadian society was established and took shape. The Conquest is usually seen as “une véritable catastrophe pour notre peuple” and the authors seem to leave the French régime with regret. English-language textbooks, on the other hand, gloss quickly over the years before 1663, although they do deal more fully with the immediate pre-Conquest years. For them, however, the Conquest is not the end but the beginning. “New France had fallen at last,” writes one author with an almost audible sigh of relief, while another writes that “the day of New France was over. A new age had begun in Canada’s history, the age of British North America.” Inevitably, English-language textbooks devote more space to this new age, usually dividing it into two periods, with Confederation marking the transition.

745. The importance given by the respective authors to the different periods of Canadian history is an obvious illustration of their dif-

ferent perspectives, but the contrasts of interpretation within these periods are even more revealing. Facts which seem significant to Francophone authors are often omitted by Anglophone authors. When all agree to include the same event, they often give divergent interpretations of the historical implications of the incident or of the contributions and motives of the men involved. There is no reason to suppose that the authors have a conscious bias or that they are deliberately writing propaganda rather than history. The selection and the interpretation of historical events when an author is describing the survival of French Canada inevitably differ from the selection and interpretation of events when an author is describing the survival of British North America.

746. A few examples will serve to illustrate the differences.¹ English-language textbooks, which quickly pass over the early years of discovery, nonetheless find space for John Cabot's voyage to the New World, whereas most French-language textbooks ignore it. Anglophone authors, who see Canada as British North America, are naturally impressed by the fact that Cabot claimed part of the New World for England before Jacques Cartier planted the fleur-de-lys, whereas Francophone authors, with French Canada as their focus, find this isolated incident irrelevant. The institutions of New France also receive much different treatment. French authors stress the growing autonomy of the colony in its relations with France; English authors stress the authoritarian structure of the colonial institutions in contrast with the representative assemblies and the individualism of the English colonies to the south. It is not surprising that Vaudreuil, the first Canadian-born governor of New France, is given a place of importance in French-language textbooks but is almost overlooked in English-language textbooks.

The divergence
increases

747. The differences become even more marked after the Conquest. For Francophone authors, the significant incidents are those which involve the survival of French Canadian society. The role of the Roman Catholic church in French Canada is stressed—Mgr. Briand and Mgr. Bourget are given an important place because they founded new parishes, reformed the organization of the church, and stressed the moral reform of the society. The external threats to French Canadian society receive even more attention. The Durham Report, Confederation, Louis Riel, the separate schools crises, and conscription in two wars are all described in the context of a beleaguered minority resisting the efforts of the English majority to destroy its society. The heroes are men like Papineau and Bourassa who defended French Canada against *les Anglais*; Cartier and Laurier receive faint praise

¹ A detailed analysis of selected textbooks is included in Trudel and Jain, "Étude de la conception de l'histoire canadienne."

at best because they agreed to compromise with English Canadians; Macdonald and Mackenzie King are pictured as able but unprincipled tacticians; men like Joseph Howe and George Brown are scarcely mentioned. The development of Canadian autonomy is seen as part of the struggle for French Canadian survival, with the ties of Empire and Commonwealth as a continuing menace to French Canadian identity. In short, to the authors of French-language textbooks, Canadian history since the Conquest is seen primarily as the story of the French Canadian people in Canada.

748. This is in stark contrast to the Anglophone version of our history since the Conquest. Roman Catholic bishops such as Briand and Bourget are mentioned only because of their relations with the political authorities, if they are mentioned at all. The threats to the survival of Canada in North America are the major preoccupation. At some periods the major threat is from the United States; at times it is the geographic barriers which must be overcome; at other times it is the emphasis on provincial autonomy and the controversy between the two cultural groups within the country. Surprisingly, the British connection is not seen as a threat. Canadian autonomy is usually seen as the result of co-operation between colonial and British politicians, and in the major wars of the 20th century it is assumed that British and Canadian interests are identical. The heroes are men like Robert Baldwin and Joseph Howe who fought for Canadian autonomy within the British Empire, rather than William Lyon Mackenzie and Papineau who turned to the United States; Macdonald and, to a lesser extent, Laurier, who fostered economic nationalism and blurred the geographical regionalism of Canada, in contrast to Mitchell Hepburn or the Progressives who championed regional interests; or Laurier and Mackenzie King who worked for a partnership of the two major cultural groups rather than Mercier and Duplessis and the leaders of the Orange Order, who appear as spokesmen for one group only. In short, to the authors of English-language textbooks, Canadian history since the Conquest is seen as the survival of Canada as a political entity in North America.

749. The two versions presented by Canadian history textbooks are both valid interpretations of our past. The establishment and survival of French Canada is a theme in Canadian history, and so is the establishment and survival of Canada in North America. In stressing only one of these themes, the authors have merely focussed their attention on the theme most directly reflecting the aspirations of the society to which they belong.

Both versions
are valid

750. Canadian history, however, is more than the history of one of the two main cultural groups in Canada. These two groups have had

close relations for at least 200 years and now form a political nation. No textbook purporting to be a history of Canada can ignore this cultural duality. The two societies have had disputes in the past, often with expressions of bitterness and hostility on both sides. French Canadian survival has not always seemed to be compatible with the survival of Canada; the emphasis on Canadian survival has not always seemed compatible with the preservation of French Canadian society. The interpretation of these past conflicts involves value judgements about both societies. Textbooks must give explanations for the different attitudes of the two groups and must analyze the consequences of the disputes. In so doing, the authors explicitly or implicitly judge each society in terms of the social values they themselves accept. The students' attitudes towards the other cultural group will be coloured by these judgements.

Images of the
other cultural
group

751. The treatment of still-controversial events clearly reveals the extent to which Canadian history textbooks are dominated by the point of view of the society to which the author belongs. As a Commission we are not primarily concerned with the historical accuracy of the textbooks selected, nor are we suggesting, where historical interpretations differ, that one is preferable to the other. Our objective is to see the images of the two cultural groups as they are mirrored in the school textbooks—the images or stereotypes which may have a lasting impression on students. The quotations selected are not intended to single out specific textbooks; they are intended only to illustrate the point of view common to most textbooks written in each language.

English-language
textbooks

752. English-language textbooks find little space for the concern of French Canadians about their cultural survival. National development is seen in a predominantly English Canadian context. The establishment of a continental Canadian economy, for example, is pictured as the most significant step in fostering Canadian unity, but little attention is paid to the special implications of railway and immigration policies for French Canada. One English-language textbook in use states simply that:

The next task was to create a true national feeling in the face of the strong sectional sentiments that still survived and to develop a sense of common interests that would outweigh local or provincial attachments. . . .

This meant first of all the building of a national economy. . . . If [this] could be realized, Canadians would more and more think of themselves as citizens of a single national community in whose fortunes every individual Canadian had a stake.

Most Francophones would resent the implication that strong sectional sentiments are incompatible with a "true" national feeling. For them the sense of common interests with other Canadians is not to be

achieved by outweighing local interests but must be compatible with their continuing attachment to French Canadian society. The author is certainly entitled to express his own opinion but he does not make it clear that this opinion would be challenged by many of his compatriots. If the Anglophone students are to appreciate the difficulties of the task of creating a national feeling, the attitude of the other cultural group cannot be ignored.

753. The view that national unity is almost synonymous with a single national community is sometimes presented even more directly. One text almost expresses regret that French Canadian society has survived, although conceding that this survival was probably inevitable:

The Quebec Act meant that the province of Quebec had been put on a special basis by an imperial act of parliament. This would complicate the future development of Canadian government. The chance to fit Quebec from the beginning into the ordinary pattern of British institutions had been lost. No doubt there was never any likelihood of completely assimilating (which, after all, meant swallowing) the French Canadians in an English-speaking Canada. But in some ways the future co-operation between the two language groups in Canada was made more difficult by this measure which increased the French feeling of separateness.

754. In discussing Bourassa, one English-language textbook is more openly critical of French Canadian efforts to maintain their cultural identity:

A grandson of Papineau, he made himself the champion of the fullest preservation of French cultural separation and French racial and religious privileges. Once again, as earlier under Mercier, there evolved in Quebec a narrow and tenacious nationalism whose concern was with French Canada and which showed indifference to the wider national interests of the Dominion.

Anglophone students who read such paragraphs doubtless draw the inference that the "wider national interests of the Dominion" do not include the cultural survival of French Canada.

755. Turning to the French-language textbooks, the focus on the point of view of only one cultural group is even more striking. Events that have no direct relevance to the theme of French Canadian survival are ignored to such an extent that what remains is almost the history of French Canada rather than the history of Canada. Anglophones appear only when they are associated with events central to the story of French Canadian society; often they appear in the role of the villain who seeks to destroy this society.

French-language
textbooks

756. Speaking of the Conquest, one textbook says: "From that moment our people had to face the domination of a powerful nation, an ancient enemy, inspired by vigorous anti-Catholic feelings and whose commercial policies hardly favoured French Canadian revival. Oppos-

ing ideas, emotions, and interests put our survival in extreme danger.”¹ It comes as no surprise that, later in the same book, the menace is seen as an unchanging and permanent factor in Canadian history: “Resistance to assimilation is the hardest battle of our history, and the most exhausting because it goes on without end. Even in the periods of calm, the surrounding Anglo-Saxon milieu maintains its relentless pressure and requires our constant vigilance.”

757. For another textbook, the Durham Report illustrates this same theme of a culture under siege:

The Durham Report is said to have initiated the Union of 1840, responsible government in 1848, Confederation in 1867 and the legislative union which is the aim today. All of these forms of government favour the expansion of Anglo-Canadian nationalism to the detriment of the French Canadian identity.

758. French-language textbooks such as the following thus find little space for the Anglophone theme of the establishment and survival of Canada in North America. Where English textbooks stress the development of political and economic unity, French textbooks see little vitality in the federal union.

...the Canadian people have neither the homogeneity nor the culture to resist successfully partial absorption (by Americanization). The gamut of opinions and emotions runs all the way from English imperialism to French Canadian nationalism. Vast gulfs separate the groups from each other—Catholics and Protestants, the English of Ontario, the French Canadians of Quebec, New Canadians in the West. Confederation is nothing but a cold legal concept and most [Canadians] display no real attachment to it.

This may be a valid conclusion, but for many Anglophones at least it gives too little weight to the sense of shared experiences and to the attachment which exists for the federal union. Francophone students may agree with the point of view of the textbook but, if they are to understand Canadian history, they must also realize that the other cultural group may view the federal union from a different perspective.

759. Historical interpretations are not confined to the written text. A wide variety of illustrations is now used to present ideas more graphically. A striking example of this use of illustrations is to be found by comparing two textbooks, one in English and the other a French translation. In the original, the story of the fall of New France is accompanied by a picture of a British redcoat welcoming the arrival of the British fleet at Quebec in the spring of 1760. In the French

¹ This and the following three quotations are translations from history textbooks by French Canadian authors. See Appendix IV for original French versions.

translation another picture has been substituted, showing General Murray setting fire to a peaceful French Canadian village.

760. The history textbooks now in use in Canadian schools are not inflammatory or even consciously unfair. But they are demonstrably one-sided in their interpretation of events involving the two societies. They may adequately explain the past from the point of view of one cultural group, but little effort is made to give any understanding of the point of view of the other cultural group. The result is that these textbooks present their readers with an uncomplimentary stereotype of the other society. Francophones appear as a threat to national unity because of their cultural loyalties; Anglophones appear as a menace to French Canadian survival.

A one-sided view

761. Some of these textbooks have already been criticized and are being revised or replaced. The need has been recognized for a more rigorous application of the historical method and for greater historical accuracy, or for a more attractive presentation of historical material. Eventually, advances in the discipline or in pedagogy make any textbook obsolete. Less attention has been paid to the treatment of our cultural duality, however, and there is no assurance that new textbooks will give a more adequate understanding of the point of view of the other culture in Canada. No change can be expected until it is clearly recognized that the emphasis on the aims of only one of the cultural groups is a one-sided approach to Canadian history.

762. There is nothing to suggest that the resulting stereotypes are intentional. The authors who write them and the departments of Education which approve them for use in the schools are not consciously trying to depreciate the values or motivations of their compatriots. But unconscious or conscious, implicit or overt, the consequences are the same. To quote from a UNESCO study entitled *History Textbooks and International Understanding*:

The danger of stereotypes

The formation of stereotypes is a necessary stage in mental growth: the danger, however, is that if untrue or distorted national stereotypes are accepted as correct pictures of reality, then the harmonization of the national groups is made difficult or impossible. For instance, if one national group thinks another typically treacherous and unreliable, what degree of support will be granted to statesmen who endeavour to make agreements with that group? Let us remember that atavistic traits of human nature lead us easily to attach denigrating, insulting, derogatory attributes to groups other than our own. The fact that the resulting stereotype is an evil caricature of reality in no way guards us against its pernicious effects.¹

This danger is certainly no less grave when two cultural groups are politically united in a federal union. It is not an exaggeration to say that

¹J. A. Lauwerys (Paris, 1953), 59-60.

Canadians of
other origins

Canadian history textbooks confirm the traditional stereotypes of the other cultural group and so inhibit a more adequate understanding of the attitudes and aspirations of the other society.

763. With the two dominant themes of French Canadian survival and the survival of Canada as a political union, it comes as no surprise that Canadians of ethnic origins other than French or British are almost ignored.¹ Their presence in Canada is usually overlooked and the scattered references to them suggest that they will become good Canadians when they have submerged their ethnic identity. As one textbook says of Ivan, who is presented as the archetype, "His greatest satisfaction was to see his children go off to school where they could mix with Canadians and learn to speak their language." Although Ivan is pictured as being proud of his folk traditions, "Before long, Ivan lost a little of his funny accent and a great deal of his loneliness." There is little here to suggest that immigrants were welcomed by Canadian authorities because these immigrants had talents and qualities which the country needed. Another group, the Indians, disappear from history with the Conquest, may reappear fleetingly beside Louis Riel, and then are forgotten once more. After studying Canadian history from a textbook, a student may well conclude that only French- and English-speaking Canadians count for anything—and that only the attitudes and actions of his own language group can be justified.

D. The Teaching of Canadian History in the Context of Two Cultures

764. An emphasis on the different interpretations of Canadian history could lead to a hazardous over-simplification of the difficulties involved in the teaching of history. History can be taught as a discipline. University students and even senior high school students can read and assess the available historical evidence relating to a past event, can compare ways in which authors select and interpret this evidence, and can come to conclusions not only about the past but also about interpretations of the past. History at this level, like such other disciplines as economics and sociology, is to a large extent an academic training in methodology. The student may study Canadian, Chinese, or Roman history, and although the amount and the kind of historical evidence will differ, the student will still learn to be an historian.

The social
purpose of history

765. But the primary purpose of teaching history is not always the training of historians. History as taught in our elementary schools obvi-

¹ The place of these Canadians will be discussed more fully in a later Book of the Commission's *Report*.

ously has little in common with history as a discipline except its concern with past events. History is placed on the curriculum because it serves a social purpose. This purpose should be consonant with a liberal education, teaching the student about human nature and human society by drawing from experience in the past. The study of the past goes beyond the abstraction of a liberal education, however. Students are taught history because societies believe that it provides a desirable and necessary training for future citizens.

766. This social purpose determines what kind of history is included in the curriculum. Learning from past experience is too broad an objective; students must learn from experience directly relevant to an understanding of their own society. History, it is assumed, can convey this knowledge by showing the problems and the challenges our predecessors faced, by showing the origins and development of our social institutions, by instilling a respect for our heritage. This social purpose explains why national history has a prominent place in school curricula in all countries. Canada is no exception. Canadian students are exposed to the history of Europe and possibly of the United States, but special emphasis is given to the history of Canada.

767. The Canadian situation, however, is complicated by the different concepts of Canada. When the history of Canada is narrowed to the history of French Canadian society, the past which is directly relevant is also narrowed; and the social purpose of history becomes understanding French Canadian institutions such as the Roman Catholic church in French Canada or minority-language schools outside Quebec. When the history of Canada is similarly narrowed to the concept of people united in a federal union, the social purpose is restricted by the emphasis on the parliamentary institutions and the development of a national economy. These two versions of Canadian history are different because they represent different cultural preoccupations.¹

The social
purposes of
Canadian history

768. The teaching of history cannot and should not attempt to exorcise these cultural differences. The two versions of Canadian history have not created the cultural division; they merely reflect the fact that there are two major cultural groups in Canada. At the same time, the study of our history should also make students aware of the positive values of the other culture and of our common cultural heritage. The briefs that argued for an official version of Canadian history to be taught in all Canadian schools were obviously concerned with this aim. Understanding must, however, begin with the under-

¹ Nor should it be assumed that the divergence in interpretation lessens at the more senior levels. With one exception, all the citations in this section were taken from secondary school textbooks.

standing of one's own society and its institutions. Only then is a child able to appreciate the different institutions and values of another society. In Canada this means that Canadian history should not be taught in the same way to all students. The textbook should build on the cultural experience the student brings to school.

The need to
present both
themes

769. The social purpose of history, however, is not to be confused with propaganda. An understanding of contemporary society is inadequate if it is based on narrow exclusiveness. Even if one thinks solely in terms of French Canadian or English Canadian society, the social purpose of history is best achieved by a conscious effort to explain the different values and aspirations of the two societies when controversies arise. But if any textbook lays claim to being a history of Canada, it must go much further. It must be the history of both societies to the extent that the histories are distinct, and it must also present the history of Canada as a country in such a way as to make the points of view of both groups appear logical and comprehensible. The establishment and survival of French Canada is a significant aspect of Canadian history and so is the establishment and survival of Canada as a political union in North America. Any Canadian history textbook should present both these themes. The result will be a history which may still reflect the unconscious cultural point of view of the author, but it will at least have the merit of trying to explain rather than ignore or even deplore our cultural duality.

Not necessarily
a joint effort

770. Such a textbook need not necessarily be a co-operative effort of French- and English-speaking scholars. A textbook should have a distinctive character, with qualities of style which may be more easily achieved by a single author. The essential requirements are scholarly competence and an ever-present awareness of the probability of a restricted point of view. With these requirements in mind, many Canadian historians could write textbooks varying in emphasis and interpretation but which would at least be recognizable to both Anglophones and Francophones as histories of their country. Consultation with a scholar from the other linguistic group might be a wise precaution against unconscious bias, but it is neither a prerequisite nor a guarantee of a good textbook.

The need to
re-examine the
teaching of
history

771. We have no intention of suggesting any specific reforms in the teaching of Canadian history. The problems of curriculum and methodology are too complex to be resolved by *obiter dicta*. But we are directly concerned with the image one cultural group has of the other, because stereotypes can inhibit effective communication and so muddy the relations between the two groups. Our research on Canadian history textbooks has shown the need for revising the versions of Canadian history now taught in the schools. We do not believe that the restricted

perspectives we have found are conscious or deliberate. No provincial authorities, textbook authors, or teachers would intentionally denigrate one of the cultural groups in Canada. The first step is to become aware of the points of view that are unwittingly being fostered in the students now in the classrooms. Precautions can then be taken to eliminate prejudicial attitudes and to foster an awareness of the distinctive characteristics of each cultural community as well as an appreciation of our common cultural heritage.

772. It is possible to suggest criteria which might be used to assess the Canadian history taught in our schools. Obviously, disparaging and prejudicial epithets should be avoided. More positively, an adequate history of Canada would include the most important and the most characteristic developments of each society. Events should not be excluded because they are controversial. Such events should be discussed within an adequate historical context so that the attitudes and actions of both societies become comprehensible even if they are not necessarily portrayed as desirable. An historian must offer his interpretation of the past, but if historians from the other cultural group have a different interpretation, some reference should be made to this other explanation of events. In this way, Canadian history may at least help to give students a better understanding of our cultural duality and its contemporary implications.

773. History is not the only school subject which deals with Canada. Other subjects—such as geography, civics, and social studies—will also make references to the two societies in Canada. Here, as in history, the student will encounter attitudes and value judgements which may have a formative influence. We have not investigated the courses of study in these areas, but it is likely that they enshrine the same conventional attitudes encouraged in Canadian history textbooks, and that they present Canada largely from the point of view of one of its cultural groups. The criteria suggested for Canadian history courses will be equally applicable in these subjects. It is important that any study of the Canadian people should have as one of its aims the fostering of an awareness of the existence and the nature of our two societies.

Suggested criteria

Applications of
these criteria

774. Aristotle wrote that the best laws, though sanctioned by every citizen of the state, will be of no avail unless the young are trained by habit and education in the spirit of the constitution. Since that time, conservatives and reformers alike have seen education as the means by which their vision of the ideal society could be assured. Differences have arisen over ends rather than means. Full agreement on the spirit of the constitution is only possible in a stable society in which traditions are never challenged; disagreement is inherent in change.

775. In Canada today, fundamental changes are occurring. Our society is becoming more urban and more dependent on technology. Social institutions such as the family and the church are being transformed. International developments affect us directly. For Canadians, however, one of the major changes is the changing place of French Canada within our country. The crisis in the relations between our two societies is a symptom of this change, and all other changes are affected to some extent by this development. Our cultural duality is more and more widely recognized as a distinctive and significant feature of Canadian identity. This recognition is not yet firmly grafted onto traditional ways of thinking. Specific problems may still be analyzed without weighing the implications of cultural duality, and decisions may thus ignore the interests or sensitivities of one of the cultural groups. Habit and education are needed to train us to take this duality into account.

Social changes

776. Our survey of Canadian history textbooks illustrates the need for modifying traditional assumptions. Neither the past nor the present can be adequately understood if attention is focussed on the interests of only one cultural group. The social context is a pervasive influence and

A changed
perspective on
education

adults as well as students are likely to assume that their own society is the norm. A conscious effort is needed before they can conceive of another society in which subtly different social values and assumptions are taken for granted. We try to teach respect for remote societies and civilizations, stressing human dignity regardless of race, creed, or colour. It is not inconsistent to teach respect for the other cultural group in Canada.

777. The conventional attitudes of our two societies are reflected in the two versions of our history. These same attitudes have permeated most aspects of Canadian life and thought in the past. Neither habit nor education has made us intuitively conscious of the outlook of the other cultural group, and even where there has been respect it has not always been based on an adequate understanding of the differences that do exist.

Accepting the
premise of equal
partnership

778. If the crisis in Canada is to be resolved and if a satisfactory partnership is to develop in the future, the conventional attitudes of Canadians must be changed. We must become as sensitive to the meaning and implications of cultural duality as we are to the meaning and implications of democracy or the rights of individuals. Sensitivity will not necessarily mean agreement. People will still differ over the principles underlying cultural duality, over what is necessary and what is peripheral, as well as over the policies and practical decisions which will be judged in the light of these principles. The aim is not immediate agreement but a discussion in which all start from the same premise. In Canada the premise must be that we are a partnership of two societies. Education must help to establish this premise as part of the conventional outlook of all Canadians.

Information, not
indoctrination

779. A distinction must be made between education and indoctrination. We are not suggesting that partnership should be taught as an article of faith. Cultural duality is not necessarily right or inevitable. An informed Canadian will be aware of the fact that there are two major linguistic groups and two societies in Canada, however, and will understand and appreciate something of the differences between the traditions and aspirations of the two societies. He may disagree with the outlook of the other group and he may even regret its existence, but he will know its point of view and he will not forget that it is there. An education which does not inform Canadians about our cultural duality is both biased and inadequate.

A. The Universities

780. Canadian universities are the key institutions in analyzing and informing us about the nature of our society. Faculty members in the

social sciences and humanities especially, but also those in many departments oriented towards professional careers, are deeply involved in research on Canadian topics. Their knowledge is imparted to students, many of whom will become teachers, professors, or members of liberal professions. Whatever their careers, it can be taken for granted that a large number of these students will become community leaders; they will be responsible for working out or implementing the partnership of our two societies. Faculty members have even a wider impact on our concepts of Canada. Some of them write textbooks and so introduce their point of view directly into the school classrooms. More and more, professors are relied on as consultants by government and business and as experts whose opinions are expressed at conferences, in newspapers, and on radio and television. The attitudes of academics today will influence the public opinion of tomorrow.

781. Universities are already conscious of their role in informing Canadians about their society. There has never been a suggestion that the study of other societies or of the natural sciences should be neglected in favour of Canadian studies; chauvinism is incompatible with higher learning. Nor is it argued that Canadian studies should always include the study of both societies and the relations between them. A sociologist may be primarily concerned with an aspect of French society in Quebec, just as an economist may concentrate on an aspect of the economy of British Columbia. Canadian universities nonetheless admit a responsibility for studying the Canadian context. The Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada stated in its brief to the Commission, "It is an obvious duty of institutions of higher learning in any society to study the nature of the society of which they are a part."¹ More recently, at its 1967 annual meeting, the Association defined this role more explicitly when it resolved that it "shall seek to encourage research, teaching, publications and student-teacher exchanges, all with a view to achieving a deeper awareness and acceptance of Canada's two official languages and cultures and those fundamental values held in common by all Canadians."²

The responsibility
of the universities

782. We share with the universities the concern for achieving a deeper awareness and acceptance of our cultural duality. We are also aware of the advances made in recent years: more research is being done on the nature of the two main cultural groups and the relations between them; there is more contact between members of the two groups at the university level; there has been an impressive number of student conferences to bring representatives of both societies to-

¹ Brief of the Executive Committee of the National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges (now the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada), 3.

² AUCC, *Proceedings: Annual Meeting 1967*, I (Ottawa, 1968), 8.

gether. These developments can only be considered a beginning, however. Our own experience has made us painfully aware of how little research on Canadian topics has included ethnic, linguistic, or cultural components. In spite of the growing concern about the relations between our two societies, the implications of cultural duality are still not an integral part of scholars' approaches to Canadian problems.

783. Attitudes and perspectives cannot be changed by legislation. Each institution of higher learning has the ultimate responsibility for its course offerings and for the areas of teaching and research in which it chooses to specialize; each professor must be responsible for his approach to the course he teaches. Any attempt to dictate to universities or to faculty members would be unwarranted and irresponsible. In the final analysis, our cultural duality will be given the emphasis it deserves when these institutions and individuals appreciate its fundamental importance to an understanding of Canada.

Suggested steps

784. We do, however, wish to draw attention to possible changes which would accelerate this transformation. We have already recommended the inclusion of more Canadian content in the teaching of French and English as second languages at the university level.¹ This is intended to make second-language teaching more effective, but it will also increase the understanding of the other linguistic group. More significant is the expansion of library resources, because this is a prerequisite to increased understanding in all disciplines. Many university libraries now have inadequate collections in the history, the literature, and the writings in the social sciences of the other cultural community. Until universities acquire the necessary published works and periodicals, their students will be deprived of the opportunity to learn the points of view of their compatriots at first hand. More attention could also be given to the desirability of introducing courses in various disciplines which concentrate directly on the other cultural group. French Canadian and English Canadian studies programmes might go far to counteract the natural preoccupation with the social milieu in which the university operates and so compensate for the unconscious cultural bias most students have already acquired. Increased knowledge of the second language among faculty members would make communication between scholars in the two linguistic groups more productive.

B. Adult Education

785. It would be shortsighted, however, to focus attention only on universities, important as they may be. Every Canadian must become

¹ See §§ 658-9.

conscious of our cultural duality and of the relevance of this duality in his daily life. The introduction to the other society should come throughout the formal years of schooling.

786. There is, however, a great and growing interest in education among adults who have left school or university; the benefits of study for work or leisure are widely acknowledged. The changing concept of Canadian cultural duality must also find a place in any studies of Canada at this level. In the words of the brief submitted to the Commission by the Canadian Association for Adult Education, "In this crisis, as in any future ones that we can imagine, it will be the existing adults who will make the crucial decisions. They will make them on conditions that could not have been anticipated in their childhood education."¹

787. Adult education has already experienced some impact from this growing awareness of our cultural duality. An increasing number of Anglophones and Francophones have decided to learn the second language in recent years. In many cases the decision was divorced from any immediate necessity to learn the language and testified simply to their desire as Canadians to speak the two official languages. In far too many cases, however, this effort was doomed to disappointment because the agencies for teaching second languages to adults were equipped only for the traditional grammar-translation approach. Canadians who wanted to learn to converse in the second language were often frustrated. It is not enough to encourage interest in the second language; facilities must be available to permit an emphasis on conversational skills. Instruction in the second official language should be available to all citizens through the school systems and university extension departments in the same way that it is now offered to new Canadians.

Learning the other language

788. It must be stressed once again, however, that teaching the second language is only one of the responsibilities of educational institutions. Partnership also depends on citizens with an awareness of the nature of our two societies. Adult education must also make a conscious effort to help citizens understand our two societies and to concern themselves with the implications of cultural duality.

Second-language learning not enough

789. The public dialogue on the Canadian cultural problem, stimulated by various agencies of adult education in recent years, has significantly increased understanding and changed attitudes. In the years ahead there will be no less need for study and debate in these areas. There are ways in which these agencies could be helped to fulfil this continuing responsibility more effectively—such as more stable financing, an increased number of trained personnel, and a central

The need for a continuing dialogue

¹ Brief presented by Canadian Association for Adult Education, 6.

organization to act as a resource for information and programme planning. The term "continuing education" at the present time is poorly defined, encompassing as it does a complex and widely differing range of agencies and programmes. It is apparent that a thorough study of the desirable organization and structures required to encourage discussion and further study among adults on Canadian affairs is indicated.

790. Until now we have been discussing how courses and formal studies can help develop a sensitivity to the nature of the other society in Canada. "Books," said R. L. Stevenson, "are a mighty bloodless substitute for life," and it is possible that direct contact with the other society would have a greater impact.

C. Travel Exchange Programmes

791. Probably no specific plan for lessening tensions between Francophones and Anglophones has received more widespread public approval than the interchange of youth groups. In briefs to the Commission, many Canadians identified the source of our present problems as a lack of knowledge and understanding of the other cultural community. They were convinced that this lack of a common meeting ground could be overcome by face-to-face encounters. Programmes of travel and exchange were seen as instruments contributing to national unity through appreciation and acceptance of cultural differences.

Efforts of the
Centennial
Commission

792. Certain voluntary agencies have undertaken such programmes for several years. Between 1964 and the end of 1967 the scope and effectiveness of these programmes were greatly expanded through the Centennial Commission, which promoted interprovincial exchanges on a national scale. By agreement between the federal government and the 10 provinces and two territories, senior high school students in groups of 24, with two adult escorts, travelled to other regions in the country during the summer holidays. Federal funds were used for travel and administration expenses, and provincial committees were responsible for the operation of the programme. Two hundred such units travelled in 1967. The Centennial Commission also helped voluntary organizations to expand programmes which they had already initiated, and encouraged the development of others in areas that were not covered. Grants were allocated to cover part of the transportation costs. The sponsoring group paid the other costs. During 1967, some 150 organizations took part in this scheme, from which approximately 40,000 young Canadians benefited.

Efforts of the
Citizenship
Branch

793. Although centennial year is over, the exchange programme will be continued and expanded by a new division of travel and exchange in the Citizenship Branch of the federal department of the Secretary of

State. The new division contains three main sections—federal-provincial youth travel programmes, voluntary agencies' programmes, and an education and information section, which includes research.

794. In creating a permanent structure to support these programmes, the federal government has testified to its belief in the efficacy of this means of fostering national understanding. The provinces, by their continued co-operation in the plan, have shown that they too believe in the worth of the scheme. Voluntary groups will have the advantage of a more stable basis of financial aid and increased professional and technical assistance. At the same time they will be able to continue to engage in a wide diversity of activities.

795. In a sense, exchange programmes are education classes similar to the seminars, lectures, and study courses developed by adult education groups. The major difference is that in exchange programmes, information is acquired by direct experience. It is obvious, however, that to be truly educational such programmes must produce more than a superficial acquaintance with the other milieu. Travel may be broadening but it does little for tourists whose only contact with the other society is through the lens of a camera. Pains must be taken to ensure that the exchange programmes bring individuals from both societies into personal contact.

796. It cannot be assumed that first-hand knowledge of a different milieu or face-to-face encounters with members of the other linguistic community will automatically create sympathetic interest and understanding. Careful evaluation will be needed to ensure that programme objectives are being achieved, and that long-term results justify the large expenditures involved. For this reason, the Commission welcomes the action of the federal government in formally accepting financial and administrative responsibility for this endeavour through the Citizenship Branch. In this way the knowledge gained by the Centennial Commission in developing techniques of selection, assessment, and supervision will not be lost. It is hoped that a sufficiently large budget will be available to take care of the necessary research. Some of this is already under way, but only continuous analysis and testing will permit these programmes to yield their full return. A study of the travel and exchange programme reported that "Research should be accepted as a regular and expected part of all such projects. . . . If a sizable budget is to be spent for travel and exchange, it is only practical to urge that we become much more knowledgeable about the human phenomena involved and the circumstances which contribute to the desired result."¹

The educational
objective

The need for
evaluation and
research

¹ A. Stinson, "Travel and Exchange," a working paper prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 97.

An extension
of service

797. Two groups to date have not benefited from travel and exchange programmes. The first group is composed of young people who have moved out of the academic stream, either by dropping out of school or by entering technical and vocational schools. The programme will need to be extended to provide opportunities for these young people, and for others in farm and labour groups.

798. The second group includes Canadian adults. In its brief to the Commission, the Canadian Association for Adult Education pointed to the need in Canada for planned educational travel for adults, both through adequately organized study tours and through the provision of properly edited cultural and historical information for more casual travellers.¹ The problem of developing planned travel programmes for adult groups is complicated. To date little has been attempted in this area, but it is a designated section in the division's programme and it may be anticipated that there will be experimentation in this direction.

799. Cultural duality requires an effort on the part of members of both cultures to understand and appreciate the point of view of the other cultural community. A knowledge of the second language is often important, but there must also be an awareness of and a sensitivity to the traditions and aspirations of the other group. Education must help to shape our conventional attitudes so that the implications of our cultural duality are not ignored and that this factor is almost automatically included in our thinking about Canada. Our study of Canadian history textbooks suggests that our present attitudes tend to reflect the point of view of only one culture and that this one-sided point of view is still being taught in our schools. A deliberate effort is required to make us more conscious of Canada's cultural duality, both in formal education for school children, university students, and adults, and in increased opportunities for personal contact with the other culture. This change in attitude cannot be imposed, but it can and must be an objective if the two cultures are to collaborate effectively in a Canadian partnership.

¹ Brief presented by the Canadian Association for Adult Education, 13-4.

800. This Book, which bears the broad title of "Education," is obviously concerned only with those aspects of education which come within the compass of the Commission's terms of reference. In the General Introduction to our *Report* we said that "in our view, the term 'biculturalism' covers two main realities. The first is the state of the two cultures and the opportunity of each to exist and flourish. The second is the coexistence and collaboration of these two cultures within our country; that is to say, the set of conditions which will enable members of these two cultures to co-operate effectively."¹ Since language is the basic ingredient of culture, our major concern in this Book has been the opportunities for each of the two main linguistic groups in Canada to have access to an education which would allow the fullest expression and development of the mother tongue, and at the same time ensure an adequate communication between the two societies. The two general principles stemming immediately from this premise, in our view, are the right of Canadian parents to have their children educated in the official language of their choice, and the opportunity to learn the second language.

801. It is readily apparent that a majority can assure for itself the kind of education appropriate to its social values and aspirations. Except for purposes of illustration, therefore, we have not discussed education for either linguistic group when it was in a majority situation. If the concept of a bicultural country is to be maintained, however, the language must remain strong wherever Francophones and Anglophones are located in Canada, which implies a special responsibility for the minority groups. We found that the right of the

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, § 46.

English-speaking minority has been fully recognized in Quebec—the only province where it is the minority. Part I of this Book described, therefore, the formal education of the French-speaking minorities outside Quebec, and proposed recommendations designed to make available to them similar opportunities to retain their language and culture. Our aim was to propose an educational system which would provide an appropriate linguistic and cultural milieu without sacrificing the educational opportunities offered by the majority-language schools of the province. We may draw two general conclusions: first, that the extent and conditions of minority education are linked to the concentration of French-language population; second, if the milieu is predominantly Anglophone, the education will need to be predominantly in French. In other words, the language milieu must be considered a vital element influencing language retention, and there will be situations where an education wholly in the minority language will be required even to satisfy the limited objective of graduating bilingual students.

802. Citizens of a country with two official languages should be provided with an education which allows them to participate in either society. At the same time, communication between the two cultural groups implies the existence of an adequate number of bilingual individuals. We have stated that our interpretation of bilingualism in Canada means that the major social and political institutions will function in the two languages, but that individual Canadians will not be required to know the second language. It is nevertheless true that effective co-operation between the two linguistic groups depends on the willingness of individual Canadians to become bilingual. Part 2 of this Book deals, therefore, with the opportunities available to all Canadians to learn English or French as a second language. Our recommendations, besides being designed to improve the effectiveness of second-language programmes, emphasize the fact that in order to have a true opportunity of decision, all children must be given an introduction to the second language through the school system. Our aim here is that all Canadian children should study the second official language in order to develop one or more of the language skills when this seems necessary or desirable.

803. In Parts 1 and 2 of this Book we have limited our study to formal schooling. A study of education has no clear limits, however, even within the restricted context of our mandate, because the subject itself has no boundaries. Formal education, even for a child, accounts for only a small portion of his activities, and outside the classroom every experience should be considered educational. Part 3 of the Book presents certain illustrations of those more intangible aspects of education which nevertheless exercise a significant influence on all Canadians, young

and old. We have pointed out that learning the second language, for instance, does not ensure awareness, understanding, and sensitivity to the traditions and aspirations of the second culture. In order to achieve understanding and effective communication between the two cultures, attention must be drawn not only to the language but to the society itself. The aim here is to make Canadians so conscious of our cultural duality that they will be accustomed to think of cultural partnership as one of the factors to be weighed when decisions are made. We have made no specific recommendations in these areas because attitudes cannot be imposed. We are convinced, however, that this third component is as vital to the realization of the true potentialities of Canadian duality as are mother-tongue schooling and second-language learning.

804. It is necessary to add one further observation. This Book is not an isolated study, but is a segment of the total Commission *Report*. It is intended to contribute a certain documentation and offer certain recommendations in one area of the investigation. It will supplement the other Books, and be supplemented by them. Education in itself should not be seen as offering the only, or even the major, solution to the present problem of the relationships between our two main linguistic and cultural groups. Language rights and the institutions of education are nevertheless essential elements in the concept of equal partnership, and reforms in these areas will facilitate improved relationships between the two societies.

1. We recommend that public education be provided in each of the official minority languages at both the elementary and secondary levels in the bilingual districts. (§ 359.)
2. We recommend that the normal language of instruction in schools for the official minority-language group in bilingual districts be the mother tongue. (§ 363.)
3. We recommend that the mother tongue be taught as a subject in all grades and all programmes of the official-language minority schools. (§ 367.)
4. We recommend that the majority language be taught as a subject in all programmes offered in official-language minority schools. (§ 371.)
5. We recommend that the curricula for the official-language minority schools follow the broad outlines of the curricula for the majority-language schools in each province. (§ 380.)
6. We recommend that the provincial social studies programmes for official-language minority schools be suited to the special circumstances of students attending these schools. (§ 382.)
7. We recommend that in each province the department of Education shall formally state the requirements and procedures by

which an official-language minority living outside the bilingual districts can establish its right to special educational facilities. (§ 384.)

8. We recommend that official-language minority schools be established in major urban centres whenever the number of minority-language students in the metropolitan area makes this practicable. (§ 398.)
9. We recommend that when both types of school exist in the community, the right of parents to send their children to either the majority-language school or the official-language minority school be recognized. (§ 405.)
10. We recommend that the linguistic and cultural character of the official-language minority schools be preserved by limiting, where necessary, the numbers of majority-language students attending these schools. (§ 407.)
11. We recommend that the right of the official-language minority to have its own schools be dissociated from any consideration of the confessional character of these schools. (§ 420.)
12. We recommend that there be no division within provincial departments of Education for the administration of physical services and school finances for official-language minority schools. (§ 426.)
13. We recommend that special divisions, sections, or individuals within provincial departments of Education be responsible for services in official-language minority schools which directly reflect language or cultural differences. The departments should be organized in such a way as to ensure collaboration in the development of comparable services for minority- and majority-language schools. (§ 430.)
14. We recommend that in Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick the administration of official-language minority schools be under the direction of an administrator at the associate or assistant deputy minister level, and that this administrator be provided with an adequate staff and budget. (§ 432.)
15. We recommend that one school board be responsible for the administration of all schools at the elementary or secondary level in the school district. (§ 437.)

16. We recommend that all official minority-language instruction at the secondary level be removed from the jurisdiction of elementary school boards in Ontario. (§ 439.)
17. We recommend that a school board shall include representatives of both majority-language and official minority-language schools whenever the board has both kinds of schools under its jurisdiction. (§ 440.)
18. We recommend that the teachers destined for majority-language schools and for official-language minority schools be trained in separate institutions. (§ 446.)
19. We recommend that the Teachers' College at Moncton become the training institution for teachers for official-language minority schools in the Atlantic provinces, and that one training institution be established to serve the needs of the four western provinces. (§ 449.)
20. We recommend that the training programmes for teachers in French-language minority schools be extended in order to develop a higher competence in French. (§ 452.)
21. We recommend that French-language education at the university level be provided for the Francophone minority whenever the potential enrolment makes it feasible to do so. (§ 468.)
22. We recommend that the University of Ottawa and Laurentian University give priority to increasing the number of degree programmes offered in French. (§ 473.)
23. We recommend a federal grant to official minority-language students to enable them to study in their own language at a Canadian university outside their province, when courses are not available in their own language within the province. (§ 479.)
24. We recommend for these out-of-province students that a federal grant, equivalent to the normal provincial grant to the university, be paid to the host university or to the provincial government concerned. (§ 482.)
25. We recommend that, pending the resolution of the constitutional problems involved, agreements be concluded between the federal government and the provinces concerned in order that these prov-

inces receive the help required to meet the special needs of their French-language universities. (§ 487.)

26. We recommend that the federal government accept in principle the responsibility for the additional costs involved in providing education in the official minority language. (§ 502.)
27. We recommend that the federal grant to each province be based on the number of students attending official-language minority schools in the province, and that the grant be 10 per cent of the average cost of education per student within the province. (§ 504.)
28. We recommend that the federal grant to Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick be based on the number of students attending official minority-language teacher-training institutions, and that the grant be 10 per cent of the cost per student, together with 10 per cent of the capital costs for such institutions in the future. (§ 507.)
29. We recommend that for students attending the French-language teacher-training institution for the western provinces and for Francophone students from Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia attending the Teachers' College at Moncton, the federal grant to the province be 25 per cent of the cost per student. We further recommend that, for the western provinces, the federal grant should cover 75 per cent of the capital costs of the training institution. For the Teachers' College at Moncton, the grant should cover 50 per cent of the capital costs which can be attributed to out-of-province students. (§ 509.)
30. We recommend that for official minority-language universities the federal grant to the province be equal to 10 per cent of the provincial grants, whether operating or capital grants, made to these universities. (§ 510.)
31. We recommend that the study of the second official language should be obligatory for all students in Canadian schools. (§ 614.)
32. We recommend that second-language courses be planned in a continuous sequential programme. (§ 636.)
33. We recommend that all programmes for the teaching of the second official language should extend to the terminal year of secondary school. (§ 638.)

34. We recommend as a desirable objective the introduction of the second official language in Grade I in English-language schools and in Grade III in French-language schools. (§ 642.)
35. We recommend that the provincial second-language programmes in the elementary schools be extended downward by stages until the provinces reach the objective of introducing French in Grade I in the English-language schools and English in Grade III in the French-language schools. (§ 648.)
36. We recommend that French and English as second languages should be taught not as foreign languages but with an emphasis on the Canadian milieu in which these languages are used. (§ 657.)
37. We recommend that more emphasis be given to Canadian authors and to the Canadian milieu in the teaching of French and English as second languages at universities and colleges, especially in introductory courses. (§ 659.)
38. We recommend the establishment by provincial authorities of French- and English-language centres for the training of second-language teachers for elementary and secondary schools. (§ 677.)
39. We recommend that the basic operating costs of the second-language training centres be paid by the respective provincial governments. (§ 681.)
40. We recommend the establishment of an interprovincial bureau of second-language training centres to co-ordinate the training programmes. (§ 683.)
41. We recommend a federal grant to the interprovincial bureau of second-language training centres to assist in the operating costs of the centres. (§ 684.)
42. We recommend that the capital costs of required specialized teaching facilities for second-language training centres be shared by the federal government and the government of the province in which these facilities are constructed, with the federal government paying at least 50 per cent of the capital costs. (§ 685.)
43. We recommend that the equivalent of university entrance in the second official language should be a minimum requirement in all provinces for graduates of a teacher-training institution. We further

recommend that all elementary and secondary school teachers who may teach the second official language should complete a course in second-language teaching methods. (§ 690.)


44. We recommend that the federal government meet the cost of a one-year transfer programme for university students specializing in the second official language. (§ 696.)
45. We recommend that the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada administer the transfer programme for students specializing in the second official language. (§ 697.)
46. We recommend the establishment by the federal government of a language research council concerned with research and development related to second-language teaching in Canada. (§ 713.)

ALL OF WHICH WE RESPECTFULLY SUBMIT FOR YOUR
EXCELLENCY'S CONSIDERATION

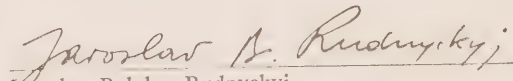
André Laurendeau*



A. Davidson Dunton



Clément Cormier, c.s.c.

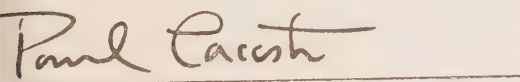

Mrs. Stanley Laing

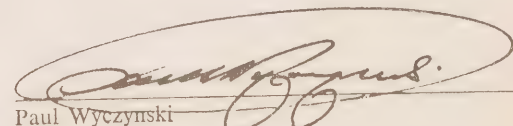

Royce Frith


Jaroslav Bohdan Rudnyckyj


Jean-Louis Gagnon

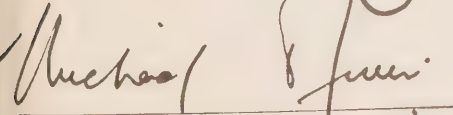

F. R. Scott


Paul Lacoste


Paul Wyczynski


Peter C. Findlay, Co-Secretary


Charles Lalande, Co-Secretary


Michael Oliver, Director of Research


Léon Dion, Special Consultant on Research

May 23, 1968

*André Laurendeau, as Co-Chairman, was actively engaged in the preparation of this Book, but was unable to participate in the Commission's final approval of the text.

P.C. 1963-1106

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 19th July, 1963.

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, the Prime Minister, advise that

André Laurendeau, Montreal, P.Q.
Davidson Dunton, Ottawa, Ont.
Rev. Clément Cormier, Moncton, N.B.
Royce Frith, Toronto, Ont.
Jean-Louis Gagnon, Montreal, P.Q.
Mrs. Stanley Laing, Calgary, Alta.
Jean Marchand,¹ Quebec City, P.Q.
Jaroslav Bodhan Rudnycky, Winnipeg, Man.
Frank Scott, Montreal, P.Q.
Paul Wyczynski, Ottawa, Ont.

be appointed Commissioners under Part I of the Inquiries Act to inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution; and in particular

¹The resignation of Jean Marchand from the Commission was accepted on September 21, 1965. On November 22 of that year Paul Lacoste, formerly one of the Co-Secretaries of the Commission, was appointed to fill the vacancy created by M. Marchand's resignation. On May 1, 1966, Prof. Gilles Lalande of the University of Montreal was appointed Co-Secretary.

1. to report upon the situation and practice of bilingualism within all branches and agencies of the federal administration—including Crown corporations—and in their communications with the public and to make recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration;

2. to report on the role of public and private organizations, including the mass communications media, in promoting bilingualism, better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of our country and of the subsequent contribution made by the other cultures; and to recommend what should be done to improve that role; and

3. having regard to the fact that constitutional jurisdiction over education is vested in the provinces, to discuss with the provincial governments the opportunities available to Canadians to learn the English and French languages and to recommend what could be done to enable Canadians to become bilingual.

The Committee further advise:

- (a) that the Commissioners be authorized to exercise all the powers conferred upon them by section 11 of the Inquiries Act and be assisted to the fullest extent by Government departments and agencies;
- (b) that the Commissioners adopt such procedures and methods as they may from time to time deem expedient for the proper conduct of the inquiry and sit at such times and at such places as they may decide from time to time;
- (c) that the Commissioners be authorized to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisers as they may require at rates of remuneration and reimbursement to be approved by the Treasury Board;
- (d) that the Commissioners report to the Governor in Council with all reasonable despatch, and file with the Dominion Archivist the papers and records of the Commission as soon as reasonably may be after the conclusion of the inquiry.
- (e) that André Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton be co-Chairmen of the Commission and André Laurendeau be Chief Executive Officer thereof.

R. G. ROBERTSON

Clerk of the Privy Council

Table 1. Grade Retention Rates for Ontario Students Entering Grade ix in 1959, by sex and language spoken at home

	Grade ix (1959)		Grade x		Grade xi		Grade xii		Grade xiii		Graduates		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
French Spoken at Home	M	2,435	100.0	1,391	57.1	805	33.1	532	21.8	226	9.3	77	3.2
	F	2,415	100.0	1,589	65.8	1,046	43.3	749	31.0	203	8.4	78	3.2
	T	4,850	100.0	2,980	61.4	1,851	38.2	1,281	26.4	429	8.8	155	3.2
English Spoken at Home	M	37,195	100.0	26,017	69.9	18,175	48.9	14,300	38.4	8,679	23.3	4,394	11.8
	F	34,624	100.0	25,942	74.9	19,186	55.4	15,524	44.8	8,338	24.1	5,071	14.6
	T	71,819	100.0	51,959	72.3	37,361	52.0	29,824	41.5	17,017	23.7	9,465	13.2
Another Language Spoken at Home	M	3,004	100.0	2,317	77.1	1,842	61.3	1,554	51.7	1,009	33.6	525	17.5
	F	2,827	100.0	2,226	78.7	1,655	58.5	1,391	49.2	731	25.9	462	16.3
	T	5,831	100.0	4,543	77.9	3,497	60.0	2,945	50.5	1,740	29.8	987	16.9
Total	M	42,634	100.0	29,725	69.7	20,822	48.8	16,386	38.4	9,914	23.3	4,996	11.7
	F	39,866	100.0	29,757	74.6	21,887	54.9	17,664	44.3	9,272	23.3	5,611	14.1
	T	82,500	100.0	59,482	72.1	42,709	51.8	34,050	41.3	19,186	23.3	10,607	12.9

Source: A. J. C. King and C. E. Angi, "Language and Secondary School Success," a study prepared for the R. C. B. & B. by arrangement with the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Table II.

Table 2. Yearly Retention Rates for Ontario Students Entering Grade ix in 1959, by sex and language spoken at home

	1st Year (1959)		2nd Year		3rd Year		4th Year		5th Year		6th Year		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
French Spoken at Home	M	2,435	100.0	1,912	78.5	1,409	57.9	1,067	43.8	675	27.7	244	10.0
	F	2,415	100.0	1,920	79.5	1,348	55.8	1,028	42.6	446	18.5	99	4.1
	T	4,850	100.0	3,832	79.0	2,757	56.8	2,095	43.2	1,121	23.1	343	7.1
English Spoken at Home	M	37,195	100.0	33,163	89.2	28,698	77.2	24,852	66.8	19,192	51.6	8,819	23.7
	F	34,624	100.0	30,880	89.2	25,945	74.9	21,668	62.6	14,273	41.2	3,562	10.3
	T	71,819	100.0	64,043	89.2	54,643	76.1	46,520	64.8	33,465	46.6	12,381	17.2
Another Language Spoken at Home	M	3,004	100.0	2,693	89.6	2,417	80.5	2,187	72.8	1,695	56.4	639	21.3
	F	2,827	100.0	2,501	88.5	2,001	70.8	1,704	60.3	1,079	38.2	239	8.5
	T	5,831	100.0	5,194	89.1	4,418	75.8	3,891	66.7	2,774	47.6	878	15.1
Total	M	42,634	100.0	37,768	88.6	32,524	76.3	28,106	65.9	21,562	50.6	9,702	22.8
	F	39,866	100.0	35,301	88.5	29,294	73.5	24,400	61.2	15,798	39.6	3,900	9.8
	T	82,500	100.0	73,069	88.6	61,818	74.9	52,506	63.6	37,360	45.3	13,602	16.5

Source: A. J. C. King and C. E. Angi, "Language and Secondary School Success," a study prepared for the R. C. B. & B. by arrangement with the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Table III.

Table 3. Future Educational Plans of Ontario Students Entering Grade IX in 1959, by sex and language spoken at home

		French		English		Other		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Complete Secondary School— University	M	722	30.3	14,837	40.7	1,269	43.1	16,828	40.3
	F	299	12.6	5,939	17.5	535	19.3	6,773	17.3
	T	1,021	21.5	20,776	29.5	1,804	31.5	23,601	29.2
Complete Secondary School— Teaching	M	125	5.2	1,310	3.6	101	3.4	1,536	3.7
	F	487	20.4	5,665	16.6	448	16.1	6,600	16.9
	T	612	12.9	6,975	9.9	549	9.6	8,136	10.1
Complete Secondary School— Nursing	M	11	.5	114	.3	9	.4	134	.3
	F	442	18.7	6,016	17.7	305	11.0	6,763	17.3
	T	453	9.5	6,130	8.7	314	5.5	6,897	8.5
Complete Secondary School— Tech. Training	M	565	23.7	6,945	19.1	676	23.0	8,186	19.6
	F	169	7.1	2,249	6.6	207	7.5	2,625	6.7
	T	734	15.4	9,194	13.1	883	15.5	10,811	13.4
Complete Secondary School— Job	M	363	15.2	4,807	13.2	295	10.0	5,465	13.1
	F	451	19.1	6,954	20.5	657	23.7	8,062	20.6
	T	814	17.2	11,761	16.7	952	16.6	13,527	16.7
Leave School for Trade Training	M	104	4.4	1,470	4.0	88	3.0	1,662	4.0
	F	63	2.7	1,005	3.0	81	2.9	1,149	2.9
	T	167	3.5	2,475	3.5	169	3.0	2,811	3.5
Leave School for a Job	M	89	3.7	935	2.6	53	1.8	1,077	2.6
	F	101	4.4	949	2.8	73	2.6	1,123	2.9
	T	190	4.0	1,884	2.7	126	2.2	2,200	2.7
Other Plans or Undecided	M	405	17.0	6,014	16.5	450	15.3	6,869	16.4
	F	355	15.0	5,211	15.3	468	16.9	6,034	15.4
	T	760	16.0	11,225	15.9	918	16.1	12,903	15.9
Total	M	2,384	100.0	36,432	100.0	2,941	100.0	41,757	100.0
	F	2,367	100.0	33,988	100.0	2,774	100.0	39,129	100.0
	T	4,751	100.0	70,420	100.0	5,715	100.0	80,886	100.0
No Answer	M	51	2.0	763	2.0	63	2.1	877	2.1
	F	48	2.0	636	1.8	53	1.9	737	1.8
	T	99	2.0	1,399	1.9	116	2.0	1,614	2.0
Final Total	M	2,435		37,195		3,004		42,634	
	F	2,415		34,624		2,827		39,866	
	T	4,850		71,819		5,831		82,500	

Source: A. J. C. King and C. E. Angi, "Language and Secondary School Success," a study prepared for the R. C. B. & B. by arrangement with the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Table X.

Table 4. Number of Regular Courses¹ at Laurentian University, by language

Year	French	English	Total
1960-1	32	35	67
1961-2	33	48	81
1962-3	32	78	110
1963-4	27	88	115
1964-5	37	117	154
1965-6	37	153	190

Source: Louis Painchaud, "Description du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme de trois universités," a study prepared for the R. C. B. & B., Table 2:6.

¹A course is generally three hours per week.

Table 5. Distribution and Enrolment in Subjects Presented in French and English at Laurentian University, end of September 1965

Subject	Number of Courses		Number of Students	
	French	English	French	English
English	—	14	—	637
Anglais	1	—	41	—
French	—	12	—	321
Français	11	—	239	—
Spanish	1	5	19	36
Latin	—	2	—	55
Classics	2	—	11	—
German	—	1	—	14
Philosophy	3	17	49	519
History	6	14	122	441
Religious Studies	4	12	44	162
Political Science	3	7	19	208
Psychology	3	7	48	374
Economics	1	7	2	190
Commerce	—	7	—	38
Accounting	—	3	—	60
Geography	—	3	—	112
Sociology	—	1	—	41
Mathematics	1	11	6	285
Chemistry	—	7	—	226
Physics and Astronomy	1	5	31	209
Zoology	—	5	—	95
Biology	1	2	29	150
Botany	—	3	—	35
Engineering	—	3	—	88
Geology	—	3	—	96
Total	38 ¹	151 ¹	660	4392
Percentage	20	80	13	87

Source: Louis Painchaud, "Description du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme de trois universités," a study prepared for the R. C. B. & B., Table 2:7.

¹These totals were affected slightly by the final registration. The eventual totals were those shown in Table 4 for 1965-6.

Table 6. Distribution of Subjects Presented in French and English in Undergraduate and Graduate Programmes at the University of Ottawa, 1967-8

Faculty or Department	Undergraduate Courses		Graduate Courses	
	English	French	English	French
Arts				
English	52	—	17	—
Fine Arts	2	1	—	—
Commerce	28	7	—	—
Slavic Studies	6	3	7	—
French	—	67	—	36
Geography	20	10	11	4
Greek and Latin	17	20	2	4
History	19	15	11	22
Modern Languages	13	49	—	—
Mathematics and Sciences	16	11	—	—
Domestic Science	4	24	—	—
Religious Studies	10	18	18	24
Total	187	225	66	90
Sciences				
Biology	65	2	9	—
Biochemistry	12	—	3	—
Geology	16	—	2	—
Electrical Engineering	36	—	14	—
Chemistry	27	1	10	—
Chemical Engineering	16	—	5	—
Mathematics	40	2	5	—
Physics	38	4	11	—
Civil Engineering	26	—	10	—
Mechanical Engineering	12	—	5	—
Total	288	9	74	—
Social Sciences				
Public Administration	4	4	—	—
Economics	23	10	10	2
Political Science	8	14	—	3
Sociology	9	19	—	6
Total	44	47	10	11
Others				
Library School	—	—	19	—
Common Law	29	—	—	—
Civil Law	—	38	—	8
Education	—	—	19	10
Physical Education	11	30	1	1
School of Nursing	9	—	14	—
Philosophy	32	32	16	18
Psychology	—	—	31	13
Hospital Administration	—	—	19	—
Faculty of Medicine	26	—	46	—
Courses given in English:				
Undergraduate	626			
Graduate	315			
Total	941			
Courses given in French:				
Undergraduate	381			
Graduate	151			
Total	532			

Source: University of Ottawa.

Table 7. Achievement on French Test Administered to Francophone Students Attending French-language Secondary Schools

Province	Grade	Number of Students	Average Mark
Quebec ¹	XI	648	55.92
New Brunswick	XI	261	49.18
Ontario ²	XII	723	50.44
Manitoba	XI	349	44.10
Saskatchewan	XI	154	42.00
Alberta	XI	181	40.62

Source: Data taken from Laurent Isabelle, "La connaissance du français dans un milieu étudiant," a study prepared for the R. C. B. & B.

¹The Quebec students were classified by programme. Average marks for the four streams were as follows (with number of students in parentheses):

General (263)	53.03
Science—Arts (241)	60.36
Science—Mathematics (71)	59.11
Commercial (73)	49.67

²For Ontario, the marks of the students in the Ottawa area were calculated separately:

Ottawa area (323)	55.95
Ontario, excluding Ottawa area (460)	45.84

A. Newfoundland

1. Compulsory French

A second language is compulsory in the three years of the matriculation course—Grades ix, x, and xi. This language is normally French. Memorial University specifies French or Latin for admission, and it requires two years of second-language study for graduation from all faculties except engineering and forestry. (The latter programmes are completed on the mainland—at Nova Scotia Technical College and the University of New Brunswick, respectively—where there is no language requirement.)

2. Optional French

French is permitted by the department in any of the elementary grades so long as its inclusion does not interfere with the overall programme. About 60 per cent of students enrolled in Grade vii and 80 per cent of those in Grade viii study French as an option. To encourage an earlier start in learning French, the department has prepared guides for the teaching of oral French in Grades v, vi, and vii. The dearth of teachers with adequate fluency hampers this downward trend in the extension of language study.

3. Weekly time schedules

No time limits are officially specified. In practice, the weekly allotment may vary between 160 and 250 minutes in Grades ix through xi. For Grades vii and viii the average is about 80 minutes per week.

4. Aims

The course of study mentions no aims as such, but it lists the grammar topics and other teaching points to be covered in each grade. The teachers' guide for Grade vi states that the aim of the optional oral French course (Grades v, vi, vii) is "to promote the ability of the students to understand and speak simple French."

5. Curricula, texts, methods

A textbook is authorized for Grades ix and x, with a sequel by the same authors providing a follow-up in Grade xi. These two books are now being published in a three-volume edition, one for each high school grade, and the courses will be designated as French 1, 2, and 3. The French courses of study used in Grades ix, x, and xi include such supplementary aids as teachers' manuals, objective tests, and tape recordings. But the approach remains traditional, with the emphasis on reading, grammar, and translation. Apart from the occasional use of Canadian place names in the exercises, there is little or no reference to Canada. There is a great deal of material relating to the history and civilization of France, particularly in the second half of the course.

6. Articulated sequence

Although the texts present an integrated programme, they were planned for a four-year course. The present time distribution of up to three years on the first book and only one year on the second means that the entire course cannot

be completed. Dividing the course into three volumes does not lessen the workload.

7. Teaching aids

Special French films, filmstrips, and records are available from the audio-visual bureau in St. John's. Two radio series, prepared by members of the French department at Memorial University, are offered annually, each consisting of 30 lessons presented once a week. These programmes are conducted almost entirely in French. In 1966-7, one series was directed towards Grade vi and the other towards Grade ix. The latter was closely integrated with the official textbook. The reading passage for each lesson was read twice and the questions based on it were asked and answered. In this way the radio voice introduced an oral component that many teachers were unable to provide.

Television has not yet been used for the formal teaching of French, and language telecasts have been confined to such national programmes as "En France comme si vous y étiez." Library facilities are very limited in many areas. In a 1964 survey of 80 major schools of the province, 40 stated that they did not use tapes or filmstrips in teaching. There is one language laboratory and a possibility of others.

8. Examinations

Final examinations for the three high school grades are prepared by the department. The French papers for Grades ix and x consist of 85 per cent translation and 15 per cent reading comprehension. The Grade xi paper assigns 80 per cent to translation and includes an optional dictation read by the supervisor. Only a small percentage of candidates chooses the dictation question.

9. Trends and proposed changes

A provincial curriculum committee for French was appointed in early 1965 to set the guidelines for a new course of study. The committee has recommended the establishment of two streams, one traditional and the other audio-lingual. The former would follow the present course and would meet the needs of students in schools where teachers still lack the fluency required to handle "new key" methods. The other stream would involve six years of study (Grades vi to xi) rather than three or four. It would be introduced

in major centres having single-grade classes and teachers competent in the spoken language. Presumably, totally different examinations would be set for students in the audio-lingual option.

Long-range plans of the committee, based on the assumption that suitably fluent teachers will one day be available in the numbers required, envisage a sequential course of audio-lingual instruction extending from Grade iv to Grade xi. The two CRÉDIF courses, BONJOUR LINE and VOIX ET IMAGES DE FRANCE,¹ are being considered, and two pilot projects using these materials are now in operation. One school in St. John's has begun BONJOUR LINE in Grade iv, and another in Springdale has introduced the first stage of VIF in Grade vii. It should also be noted that the private Roman Catholic schools of St. John's begin French in Grade ii with one hour of instruction per week.

10. Teacher supply and qualifications

French teachers with adequate oral facility are hard to find in Newfoundland. Only a handful have a French-speaking background, and very few teachers move to Newfoundland from other provinces. Occasionally, persons whose mother tongue is French are granted a letter of permission and employed as language teachers. The academic and professional qualifications of many teachers are still low. In 1965-6, 28 per cent of the teaching force had less than one year of training beyond junior matriculation, and 66 per cent had less than two years.

This explains why the deficiencies in high school French instruction have tended to be self-perpetuating. Teacher qualifications are improving, however. Recent increases in pay scales and free tuition at Memorial University now offer incentives for more teachers to attend summer and extension courses and so to improve their teaching qualifications. These same advantages are also attracting more candidates to the teaching profession. Student allowances of \$50 a month in the third, fourth, and fifth years of university encourage many student teachers to continue their studies.

11. Teacher preparation

On completion of Grade xi (junior matriculation), the teacher candidate enters the faculty of education at Memorial University. At the end of one year's training he receives a Grade 1 certificate entitling him to teach in the schools of the province. He may, if he wishes, take a

¹ Centre de recherche et d'étude pour la diffusion du français (CRÉDIF), École normale supérieure de Saint-Cloud. BONJOUR LINE (Paris, 1963). VOIX ET IMAGES DE FRANCE (Paris, 1962).

second year of training (five courses obtained through summer school or full-time residence) and obtain a Grade 2 certificate, and so on. After four years of university a candidate is granted a Grade 4 certificate and the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Education. Candidates who enter teacher training with a bachelor's degree in arts, science, or commerce obtain a Grade 5 certificate at the end of one year.

There is no methodology course in French at Memorial University until the fourth year, when it is available as an elective only to the few students doing the combined degree of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Education.

12. In-service training, supervision, guidance

Opportunities for in-service training are confined to the larger centres. At the district meetings of the Newfoundland Teachers' Association, some discussion of methods takes place. In 1965, this organization formed a second-language council which meets three times a year and includes in its membership elementary, secondary, and university teachers of modern and classical languages.

The four-week summer course in French offered by the University of Toronto at Saint-Pierre and Miquelon does not attract many Newfoundland teachers, though a few attend the longer sessions at Laval. In 1967, Memorial University offered its first course in methods for the teaching of modern languages. This course, based on vif and with a Laval professor in charge, will, it is hoped, be offered annually. During the school year, extension courses are held at Memorial in French 100 and 200, and there are also elementary and advanced classes in French conversation, as well as a class of vif.

In the regional high schools only a few teachers are able to specialize exclusively in the teaching of French. Since there are no language supervisors or inspectors either at the local or provincial level, French teachers receive little specific guidance on the job.

B. Prince Edward Island

1. Compulsory French

French is compulsory in Grades viii to xii of the matriculation programme. St. Dunstan's University requires "French or a modern foreign language" for admission, but Prince of Wales College does not. Both institutions recommend or require further study of "a modern language other than English" in most degree programmes.

2. Optional French

French is offered as an elective in Grades x to xii of the general course. It is not usually offered in vocational or business education courses. A number of schools begin French in Grade vii to ease the load of preparing for the high school entrance examination held at the end of Grade viii. In Summerside and Charlottetown, French is begun in Grade v and Grade iv respectively.

3. Weekly time schedules

No precise time limits are laid down by the department except for Grade xi (175 minutes per week). In Grade viii, some schools devote 60 minutes weekly to French, others up to 135 minutes. In Grades ix to xi the usual allotment is about 175 minutes per week, and most schools increase this to 225 minutes in Grade xii.

4. Aims

Course aims are stated in such general terms as the ability to understand, speak, read, and write French. No cultural goals are indicated.

5. Curricula, texts, methods

In Grades viii, ix, and x the text used is conventional in format, but is supported by a number of teaching aids. There are laboratory tapes with pattern drills, text tapes, discs for oral testing, display cards, and a teachers' guide. The cultural orientation is chiefly towards Paris, but there is also material on French Canada. The same text is being used on a temporary basis in Grade vii.

The text for Grades xi and xii, also a traditional manual, has been in use fairly generally in Canada for a number of years. With the exception of a few early lessons referring to the Canadian scene, the lesson material—reading passages, examples, illustrations—is culturally slanted towards France.

6. Articulated sequence

Much of the grammatical explanation in the advanced course is a repetition of similar material in the first text, so the two texts together do not provide a well-integrated course.

7. Teaching aids

In the last few years, efforts to improve the French programme were chiefly concerned with improving performance on departmental examinations. This, coupled with the limited financial

resources and the large number of one-room schools, explains why audio-visual aids have so far played a minor role in the teaching of French in P.E.I. To date, no public school has been equipped with a language laboratory. Consideration is being given to the development of oral-aural skills and greater use is being made of the new educational media. During 1967-8 all high schools and all elementary schools with more than six rooms were equipped with television receivers, and the Charlottetown station broadcast educational programmes originating in Nova Scotia. The use of these telecasts is not mandatory, so the extent of their use and their possible impact on the teaching of French are as yet unknown.

8. Examinations

About 85 per cent of the Grade VIII paper and 75 per cent of the Grade XII paper consist of grammar and translation. The matriculation examination includes a simple dictation read by the invigilator.

9. Trends and proposed changes

Only a few communities offer French below Grade VII. A French sub-committee was set up by the department in February 1965. Its main concern has been the selection of textbooks and the extension of the second-language programme to the lower grades. Two pilot projects were introduced in September 1967. One involves the introduction of an audio-lingual course, *ICI ON PARLE FRANÇAIS*, Level One,¹ in Grades V and VI in the Summerside schools. Study materials include a teachers' text which contains the course content and outlines the teaching procedures step by step. There are also tape recordings providing a variety of drills, tests, and dialogues, and wall charts illustrating situations from the tapes. Since Level One is meant to be entirely oral there are no student textbooks, but there are phonograph records for home practice.

A second project is underway in Grades III and IV at Rustico and Miscouche. For high school classes no change is contemplated in the core texts, but these will be supplemented by further reading material. In some Acadian schools, specially enriched French programmes are in operation.

10. Teacher supply and qualifications

The annual report of the department for 1966 stated that about 10 per cent of teachers had

completed studies for a bachelor's degree plus teacher training, and that less than 40 per cent had completed senior matriculation plus teacher training. This shortage of qualified teachers is largely due to the fact that salary scales, though improving, are still among the lowest in Canada. The employment of specialists is usually confined to such subjects as art, physical education, home economics, and music. Occasionally, Franco-phones have been employed as language teachers on letters of authority.

11. Teacher preparation

Teacher candidates who obtain at least 60 per cent on completion of Grade XII (junior matriculation) may enter either Prince of Wales College or St. Dunstan's University for a two-year diploma course. French is offered as an option in the second year, and the course includes some training in methods. Both institutions offer a Bachelor of Education programme for holders of a bachelor's degree in arts, science, or commerce.

12. In-service training, supervision, guidance

In the summer of 1967, under the sponsorship of the department of Education, Prince of Wales College offered a free course in French conversation to elementary and high school teachers. This course, using modern laboratory techniques, may be offered annually and so mark the beginning of an in-service training programme for teachers of French.

With respect to supervision and guidance, only Summerside has so far appointed a co-ordinator of French. Provincial inspectors assess and advise teachers in all subjects, but are not normally French specialists.

French teachers meet for a few hours' discussion at the annual convention of the Prince Edward Island Teachers' Association. A few have corresponding memberships in the Modern and Classical Language Teachers' Association of Nova Scotia, since there is no similar group on the Island.

C. Nova Scotia

1. Compulsory French

The study of a second language is not compulsory in the schools of Nova Scotia but a second language is offered in the general or

¹ Gwendolen Glendenning, *ICI ON PARLE FRANÇAIS* (New York, 1951).

vocational sections. Most students in the university preparatory stream do study a language through Grades ix to xiii because the universities in the province usually require a second language both for admission and graduation. French is the language most commonly studied, although some take Latin and a few take German or Greek.

2. *Optional French*

A few urban schools begin French in Grade iv with departmental permission and this early introduction of the second language would be more common if more qualified teachers were available. Nearly all students in Grades vii and viii study French; nearly three-quarters of the students who complete Grade xi have had five years of instruction in French and nearly two-thirds of Grade xii graduates have had six years.

3. *Weekly time schedules*

Grades vii to ix have from 120 to 160 minutes of French instruction per week. Grades x to xii have 160 minutes.

4. *Aims*

The study guide for Grades vii to ix states that the general aims for the study of French are "to encourage and promote knowledge of the French language" and "to develop an acquaintance with and an appreciation of the culture of the French people, those living in Canada as well as those living in other parts of the world." To attain these ends, the need is stressed for teaching all four language skills. Positive attitudes are to be developed through the provision of cultural material and the correlation of French instruction with the teaching of history and geography.

5. *Curricula, texts, methods*

The texts in use contain reading passages which provide an introduction to the civilization and culture of France. There is no similar material on French Canada. A teachers' guide is issued by the department for the intermediate grades and another for the senior grades. The latter bulletin contains much useful information in detailed form for the teaching of various types of lessons and also for the preparation of examinations, including aural comprehension tests.

6. *Articulated sequence*

The two texts provide a graded course of instruction for the six-year sequence (Grades vii to xii).

7. *Teaching aids*

Nova Scotia was the first province to make use of radio (1928) for school broadcasts. It was also the first to use television for regular classroom instruction. Two television French lessons per week are offered in both Grade vii and Grade viii and one lesson per week in Grade ix. Teachers' manuals outline the preparation and follow-up periods to be conducted by the classroom teacher. Since the approach is oral-aural in Grade vii, no textbooks are placed in the hands of the children. A workbook to be used in conjunction with the television lessons has been prepared for Grade viii pupils. The programmes are well planned and excellent use is made of a variety of teaching aids. The lessons are also designed to permit participation both on an individual and a collective basis by the pupils. These television classes are much more popular in the small rural schools than in the larger urban schools. In the latter, qualified French teachers are more often available. Scheduling is also more complicated in the larger schools; for example, if a teacher has four Grade vii classes, it is not usually possible to combine them at the time of the telecast. The lack of flexibility in scheduling remains a serious objection to television instruction; video-taping is still too expensive a solution to this problem.

A 15-minute French radio programme, "Parlons français," is also broadcast from Halifax once a week from October to April. This is meant as an enrichment activity for Grades v to ix and is intended for use in the schools of all four Atlantic provinces, but the number of classes who listen regularly to this programme is not large.

The audio-visual education unit provides follow-up tape recordings of the television lessons for Grades vii, viii, and ix. It also makes available on tape the text of the manuals used in Grades vii to xii. Schools simply supply the blank tapes and the recordings are prepared free of charge.

Correspondence instruction in French is provided for Grades vii to xii. Some 193 students were enrolled in these courses during the school year 1965-6. In remote places where children cannot attend school (as in the case of families living in lighthouses) the correspondence and television lessons take the place of the teachers. Pupils are given guide books.

8. *Examinations*

In Grades vii, viii, and ix the department requires that 40 per cent of the final mark in French

be assigned to oral work. Provincial examinations in French are held at the end of Grade XI (junior matriculation) and also at the end of Grade XII (senior matriculation). These examinations are identical in format, with 20 per cent of the marks being allotted to an aural comprehension test (on a phonograph record), and 20 per cent to an objective test of vocabulary and grammar. The remaining 60 per cent is assigned to a written paper consisting of grammar and translation. In June 1967, the latter component was modified to include passages that test reading comprehension.

9. Trends and proposed changes

As well as following the television series for Grades VII, VIII and IX, some junior high schools have departmental permission to use a variety of audio-visual materials to supplement the regular course of study. In general, however, the spread of experimental courses has been restricted by lack of funds, lack of teachers, and the competing demands of other educational needs. A departmental sub-committee on French was reconstituted in 1965.

10. Teacher supply and qualifications

There is a serious shortage of qualified teachers in Nova Scotia. In a recent survey of 303 teachers of French, only 30 (10 per cent) said that they could converse fluently. Of the remaining 90 per cent, 142 said that they had limited fluency, 96 said that they could converse with difficulty, and 18 said that they could not converse in French at all. In the past, teachers were assigned to the teaching of French without much regard for their ability to speak and understand the language. The obvious reason was that qualified teachers were not available in the numbers required. This situation has been alleviated to some extent by recruiting teachers whose mother tongue is French. The problem is aggravated in Nova Scotia, however, by the fact that Francophone teachers are urgently needed in the "bilingual" schools for which they are best suited.

11. Teacher preparation

To enter Nova Scotia Teachers' College in Truro, candidates must have completed Grade XII. On completion of the two-year course, graduates receive an Intermediate Teacher's Licence Class I permitting them to teach in Grades I to IX. An optional one-year French course is offered in

which both oral skills and methodology are taught through the medium of films and other audio-visual aids.

In addition to the Teachers' College, no fewer than six universities (five in Nova Scotia and one in New Brunswick) are involved in the preparation and training of academic teachers for the schools of Nova Scotia. Candidates may enter the faculty or department of education of these universities after the sophomore, junior, or final year of courses leading to bachelors' degrees in arts, science, or commerce. After one year of professional training they receive one of the following awards: junior diploma, senior diploma, Bachelor of Education. Either the senior diploma or the degree of Bachelor of Education is required to teach Grades X to XII. All the universities referred to above offer an optional course in oral French during the professional year.

12. In-service training, supervision, guidance

The Nova Scotia Summer School, set up by the department in the early 1950's, provides credit courses, including French courses, for the upgrading of teacher qualifications.

In the matter of supervision there are as yet no departmental inspectors specifically assigned to modern language classes, and no supervisors of French have been appointed by the various school districts. Department chairmen are virtually unknown outside Halifax, Dartmouth, and Sydney. The teacher of French generally receives little guidance on the job.

Most in-service activities in the language field are sponsored by the Modern and Classical Language Teachers' Association of the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union. In addition to the annual provincial convention with its special speakers and discussion groups, regional meetings are held periodically to discuss techniques and new developments. A language journal is also published by the association. Although the membership is confined to a small group of the province's language teachers, the impact of the Association has been considerable, particularly through its resolutions relating to matters of policy and to the improvement of language teaching.

The department of Education provides in-service training for the French teachers through the television lessons. Many classroom teachers readily admit that they are learning French along with their pupils. French television seminars are held each year to discuss the utilization of the lessons in the classrooms.

D. New Brunswick: English-language Schools

1. Compulsory French

French is the main contemporary second language offered to Anglophones in New Brunswick schools. It is a part of the course of study for all students in Grades v to x. In addition, matriculation students usually continue the study of French in Grade xi because the departmental examination in French is written at the end of that year. Mount Allison University requires a second language (not necessarily French) for admission to all faculties. It also requires two years of second-language study for undergraduates enrolled in courses leading to the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science. The University of New Brunswick has no such language requirement either for entrance or graduation.

2. Optional French

The department recommends that French begin in Grade iii, providing competent teachers are available. Some schools begin French in Grade i. In such cases it is the responsibility of local boards to ensure competent teaching and satisfactory programmes. Several schools offer a French option in Grade xii.

3. Weekly time schedules

Grades v and vi have 100 minutes of French instruction per week; Grades vii to xi have 150 minutes.

4. Aims

Final objectives are comprehension of the spoken language, acceptable speaking ability, facility in reading and writing, and an awareness and appreciation of French culture.

5. Curricula, texts, methods

In Grades v to ix the official course of study is based on a series of texts and teachers' guides developed in the 1940's for the Protestant schools of Quebec. Although the emphasis is on oral work in a Canadian setting, these books contain a good deal of translation and formal grammar,

and a French-English-French technique is recommended in the presentation of new material. Supplementary teaching instructions issued by the department suggest alternative procedures more in keeping with the "new key" approach.

6. Articulated sequence

A new audio-lingual programme, the *COURS MOYEN DE FRANÇAIS*,¹ is now available for use at the Grade x level as a follow-up to this programme and will replace the present traditional text.

7. Teaching aids

The audio-visual services bureau has one of the largest collections of 16mm. films and 35mm. filmstrips in Canada, including a number of French prints and sound tracks. In addition, radio and television broadcasts for English learners of French originating in Nova Scotia are carried by the Maritime network and are available in New Brunswick classrooms. None of these teaching aids is widely used for French second-language teaching. With limited budgets, other aids—including supplementary readers—are generally in short supply.

8. Examinations

A review of recent matriculation French papers shows that, despite the emphasis on spoken French in the official statement of aims, 90 per cent of the marks are allotted to questions on translation and grammar. Since 1964, the single remaining item on the paper has consisted of an option between a sight question and an aural comprehension test presented on a gramophone record. The aural portion is now valued at 20 per cent. Beginning in 1968 the aural question will be compulsory for all students writing this examination.

9. Trends and proposed changes

For some time now the curriculum branch has been concerned about the need for replacing the present high school French programme with a course of study that will be co-ordinated with the elementary school sequence and that will produce graduates with "adequate aural-oral facility in the language." To this end several experimental courses (*VOIX ET IMAGES DE FRANCE*, *AUDIO-LINGUAL MATERIALS*,² *ÉCOUTER ET PARLER*³) have been ap-

¹ F. C. Jeanneret et al., *COURS MOYEN DE FRANÇAIS*, Part 1-Part 2 (Toronto, 1955-7).

² *AUDIO-LINGUAL MATERIALS*, a four-level secondary school programme of text and audio materials for French, prepared by the staff of the Modern Language Material Development Center (New York, 1960).

³ D. G. Côté, S. N. Levy, P. O'Connor, *LE FRANÇAIS: ÉCOUTER ET PARLER* (New York, 1962).

proved by the department for testing in various school systems. These new courses have pointed up the need for further recruitment and training of teachers capable of handling the new techniques and also for the use of more sophisticated methods of measuring aural-oral ability. The oral tests developed for the College Entrance Examination Board by Educational Testing Services in Princeton, New Jersey, have recently been under study.

A completely aural-oral departmental examination is now offered to students studying the VIF course. Use of this programme is being extended into areas where teachers familiar with these techniques are available. The department is sponsoring workshops to prepare teachers to use the VIF method.

A number of schools in the province are experimenting with LE FRANÇAIS PARTOUT,¹ a sequential series beginning in the early elementary grades and continuing through high school. The ÉCOUTER ET PARLER course already in use in some schools will be incorporated in LE FRANÇAIS PARTOUT programme. All counties of the province have received materials for the new course and workshops are being planned. ALM materials are used in several schools from Grade VII to the end of Grade XI, and students in this programme are to have an aural-oral departmental examination beginning in 1968.

Superintendents in most areas of the province are trying to secure specialists for the teaching of French. Pilot projects have been initiated in areas where specialists are available and series of workshops are scheduled throughout the year.

The Children's Hospital School in Saint John is using a new second-language programme with disabled children.

10. Teacher supply and qualifications

In the larger centres—Saint John, Fredericton, Moncton—the teacher of French often has an honours degree in the subject. Rural areas are increasingly adding specialist teachers to their staffs and some rural areas have better second-language programmes than urban areas. The supply of French teachers for English schools is still inadequate, however, both in quantity and quality.

The department of Education encourages suitably qualified Francophone teachers to become French specialists. The introduction of oral French courses in the teacher-training institutions is producing an increasing number of Anglophone

graduates with the fluency required to teach the second language.

11. Teacher preparation

The certification of teachers is not based on the subject to be taught, so no regulations are laid down for the specialized training of second-language teachers. On completion of Grade XII (junior matriculation), prospective teachers may take either a teachers' college course or a university course leading to a degree in education.

The New Brunswick Teacher's College in Fredericton provides a two-year course for both elementary and secondary school teachers, with separate programmes for Francophones and Anglophones. To qualify for the high school teachers' course, candidates must have obtained an average of at least 60 per cent on the Grade XII examinations; a minimum average of 50 per cent is required for the elementary methods course. Curiously enough, both courses lead to the same certificate—Teachers' Licence and Certificate 1—and a holder of this licence may be hired to teach at either the elementary or secondary level, regardless of the type of course followed. Optional courses in the teaching of French (or English) as a second language are offered to a rather small group of selected students.

The University of New Brunswick and Mount Allison University offer diploma and degree courses for elementary and secondary school teachers, and both institutions offer optional courses in oral French.

12. In-service training, supervision, guidance

All three provincial universities* offer summer courses designed to upgrade the qualifications of teachers of French. Total attendance is small despite grants provided by some boards. The French council of the New Brunswick Teachers' Association has been active since 1964 promoting interest among its members in new trends and techniques in modern-language teaching. Here again, however, the number of teachers involved is not large. At their annual fall conference, the teachers of the province meet in subject groups for a few hours, and in some areas similar groups meet on a county basis four or five times a year.

In 1966, the department appointed a second-language consultant whose duties are to supervise generally the French programme for Anglophones in the public schools; to work with curriculum

¹ Published by Holt, Rinehart, Winston (Toronto, 1966).

* University of New Brunswick, University of Moncton, Mount Allison University.

sub-committees in the evaluation and development of appropriate courses, texts, and instructional materials; to devise and supervise pilot classroom studies of such courses, texts, and materials; to keep the department of Education informed as to the possible suitability of new programmes for use in the public schools; to prepare statements of changed content and approach for distribution to teachers and field personnel; to organize and conduct in-service education courses related to changing content, methods, and placement of materials in French as a second language; to act as consultant to local administrators and supervisors who have organized in-service programmes; to establish liaison with university departments of French and the Teachers' College.

E. New Brunswick: French-language Schools

1. Compulsory English

The study of English as a second language is compulsory for Francophones from the second semester of Grade I to the end of Grade XII.

2. Optional English

Not relevant.

3. Weekly time schedules

These vary from school to school. In general, however, one period a day or up to 150 minutes per week is devoted to English in all grades.

4. Aims

According to the official programme, the main objectives in the teaching of English as a second language are as follows: to enable Francophones to speak, read, and write English easily and accurately, thereby opening the way to better social, commercial, and political relations both within Canada and with other countries; to lead such pupils to appreciate and enjoy English literature; to provide training in thinking. This statement of aims is so general that it would be equally applicable to students whose first language is English.

5. Curricula, texts, methods

In Grades I and II the approach is entirely oral. Reading and a little writing are introduced towards the end of Grade III. In Grade IV there

is oral translation from French to English and written translation is begun in Grade V. The same series of English-language texts is used in the elementary classes of the so-called bilingual schools as are used for the teaching of English as a first language. There is usually a two-year time lag, however, in the introduction of these materials into French-speaking classes, with Grade I readers used in Grade III, and so on.

Similar course arrangements are in operation in the high school grades. The curriculum for both language groups includes the same English literature texts and supplementary readers. As the time allotted to the special *français* programme has been increased, however, there has been a corresponding decline in the time available for English literature and supplementary reading. This means that an increasing stress is placed on English grammar and the mechanics of the written language.

6. Articulated sequence

Although there is a graded programme of instruction, it was originally designed to teach English to Anglophones, and not as a second-language programme.

7. Teaching aids

The teaching of English has been almost wholly textbook-centred and, consequently, little use has been made of audio-visual aids. Supplementary reading material is also in short supply in most schools.

8. Examinations

At the end of Grade XII, Francophones write the departmental examination in English. No provision has been made to test audio-lingual proficiency. A complete change in course methods and content will be necessary before such testing can be undertaken.

9. Trends and proposed changes

Recommendations of the recently formed "English as a Second Language Committee" were implemented in 1966 by the curriculum and research branch which initiated a series of pilot classes in six different French-speaking areas of the province. The project involved some 20 teachers and approximately 500 pupils in Grades III and IV. An audio-lingual course, *ENGLISH THIS WAY*,¹ provided the materials for this experiment.

¹ Prepared by English Language Services, Inc., Washington, D.C. (Toronto, 1963-4-5).

In predominantly French-speaking areas, the lack of suitably fluent teachers has hampered the changeover to the new method. Taped materials may provide at least a partial answer to this problem.

Some experimentation has also begun in the high school grades. So far this has involved the enrichment of present courses rather than the introduction of new programmes.

10. Teacher supply and qualifications

There has long been a scarcity of qualified teachers. Some rural areas of the province have a high percentage of so-called local licences, despite the fact that the standards for admission to the Teacher's College have not been rigid.

11. Teacher preparation

The New Brunswick system of certification does not indicate the subject field in which the candidate is best qualified to teach through special training or aptitude. There are, therefore, no officially recognized English specialists.

Most teachers are graduates of the New Brunswick Teachers' College in Fredericton. Francophones and Anglophones follow different programmes, each of two years' duration. Both groups receive the same diploma, a Teachers' Licence and Certificate 1. Whether a candidate is selected for training as an elementary or as a high school teacher depends on his Grade XII standing, an average of 60 per cent being required of students entering the secondary course.

An optional course in the teaching of English as a second language is now offered at the Teachers' College, but the number of students registered in this course is quite inadequate to meet the demand for language teachers. Some Francophones take their training in the faculty of education at the University of Moncton. To date, however, relatively few of the graduates have specialized in modern languages.

12. In-service training, supervision, guidance

There is no provincial supervisor for the teaching of English as a second language, although the French curriculum consultant provides some assistance to the relevant departmental committee.

The pilot courses mentioned earlier provide the teachers concerned with a certain amount of in-service training in the new techniques. In 1967, for the first time in New Brunswick, a summer

course was offered on modern methods for the teaching of English as a second language.

F. Quebec: French-language Schools

1. Compulsory English

The study of English as a second language is compulsory in the French-language schools of Quebec from Grade VI to the end of high school.

2. Optional English

With departmental authorization, the introduction to English may begin in Grade IV or be delayed until Grade VIII.

3. Weekly time schedules

Grades IV to VII have 120 minutes of English instruction per week. Grades VIII to XI of the general and scientific courses have 225 minutes, and Grades XI and XII of the commercial course have 270 minutes.

4. Aims

At the elementary level, the following objectives are to be pursued: the development of the child's auditory comprehension so as to enable him to understand and distinguish among the various phonological and phonemic elements of English; the training of the speech organs to emit the sounds of the phonological system of English; the development of the child's auditory, verbal, and motor memory.

In the secondary programme further practice is considered necessary in the skills acquired at the elementary level. Other objectives include an appreciation of the culture and civilization of English-speaking peoples. Teachers are also advised to devote time to comparative studies of French and English "so as to arrest the infiltration of anglicisms into the mother tongue."

5. Curricula, texts, methods

At the elementary level no detailed programme or syllabus exists and the *Programme d'études des écoles élémentaires* (1959) simply lists 24 areas of interest which are to serve as the basis for vocabulary selection.

Although the suggested methodology for elementary classes stresses the aural-oral approach, there are few qualified teachers who are dependable models of the spoken language. In practice,

initial emphasis is placed on the written word and on reading. No marks are allowed for oral English and final examinations are only for the written language, except in a few schools. Because of this, teachers in early secondary school grades must cover a great deal of quite elementary work on the aural-oral skills.

The high school programme of studies contains a syllabus of all the "grammar" items to be covered in Grades VIII to XII. The same publication lists classroom procedures to be followed in reading activities and also provides general directives concerning work in English composition. A fairly wide variety of language texts and supplementary readers has been approved.

6. *Articulated sequence*

This is one of the most serious problems in the teaching of English as a second language in Quebec. Students entering the first year of the secondary course show wide differences in ability because of the wide discrepancy in teacher competence and the tendency of many teachers, especially in rural areas, to neglect the teaching of English at the elementary level. Few secondary schools resort to homogeneous grouping for classes in English, and the complexity of teaching the second language is thus intensified.

7. *Teaching aids*

Quebec began a series of school broadcasts for English as a second language during the 1964-5 school year. One 15-minute programme per week was provided for Grade V classes. Teaching aids were supplied for use before and after each programme. Teachers were unable to use these programmes to their best advantage, however, because of insufficient knowledge of the linguistic and methodological principles underlying the preparation of the programmes and teaching aids. The teachers' inability to understand English spoken at a normal rate of delivery was another reason for the small success the programme enjoyed.

8. *Examinations*

In the elementary schools, each teacher prepares his own examinations and no marks are allotted to oral work.

In the high schools, in Grades VIII through X, all English examinations are the responsibility of the teachers. Many of the regional school districts have appointed supervisors of the teaching of English and the preparation of examinations is one of the functions they usually exercise in

collaboration with teams of teachers. The department of Education encourages all those responsible for English examinations in Grades VIII through X to administer aural comprehension tests, but no part of the final mark is officially attributed to this part of the examination.

In the Grade XI general course, and in Grades XI and XII of the commercial course, the department of Education administers official final examinations. These examinations are at least 90 per cent objective and include questions on phonology, morphology, syntax, vocabulary, reading comprehension, and controlled comprehension. Plans are being made to administer a final aural comprehension test in five or six regional school districts each year.

9. *Trends and proposed changes*

Certain urban centres, having appointed supervisors for the teaching of English as a second language, are attempting to overcome the critical lack of qualified teachers by providing in-service training courses at the elementary level.

The trend towards team teaching will, it is hoped, result in an increasing number of teachers whose sole occupation will be the teaching of English as a second language. These specialists will be those team members who wish to teach English and whose command of the spoken language enables them to benefit rapidly from in-service training.

10. *Teacher supply and qualifications*

The shortage of qualified teachers of English as a second language is, without doubt, the most serious obstacle to effective teaching of the subject in Quebec. This situation is particularly noticeable at the elementary level where teachers are assigned to teach English (together with all the other subjects on the programme) without regard to their competence in understanding the spoken language and in speaking it. Any reference to teachers of English in French-language schools must stress the almost total absence of teachers whose mother tongue is English. This situation is due, in part, to restrictions concerning the hiring of non-Catholics to teach in Roman Catholic schools.

The organization of comprehensive high schools has helped to improve the teaching of English as a second language at this level. Over 80 per cent of the regional school districts have appointed co-ordinators who are gradually bringing cohesion to the efforts of teachers in their areas. These co-ordinators are handicapped, however, by teaching loads in excess of 20 periods a week.

11. Teacher preparation

To enter Roman Catholic teachers' colleges in Quebec, candidates must have completed the science or arts course (Grade XI). No English-language teachers' college offers courses in the teaching of English as a second language. In 1965, Marianopolis College in Montreal, a liberal arts college, inaugurated a programme offering "a major in English with concentration in applied linguistics." The French-language teachers' colleges offer fourth-year students optional courses in the teaching of English. English is now obligatory for all Francophones only in the first year of their four-year course leading to the A certificate and the degree of Bachelor of Education. There is also a two-year course with similar entrance requirements leading to the B certificate. In this course the study of English and of methods of teaching English as a second language are obligatory in both years.

The optional nature of the courses given after the first year of the four-year course means that few teachers of English as a second language are satisfactory models of the spoken language. The students who profit most from the courses in methods are those who have mastered spoken English before enrolling in teachers' college. The others are faced with the doubly difficult task of mastering both matter and methods in a maximum of some 300 course hours.

The Universities of Laval, Montreal, and Sherbrooke have programmes leading to advanced degrees in English as a second language but, until quite recently, the degree of Bachelor of Arts was required for admission. Graduates of teachers' colleges were allowed to follow courses but could not qualify for an advanced degree.

12. In-service training, supervision, guidance

The elementary and secondary schools division of the department of Education has an official who is responsible for English second-language teaching. His tasks include the preparation and revision of programmes, textbook selection, the preparation of official examinations for Grades XI and XII, and collaboration with the teachers' colleges and universities in the implementation of programmes to train teachers of English as a second language.

The English second-language division of the department publishes a monthly bulletin, *Keynotes*, providing abstracts of articles from professional journals and suggestions and directives concerning methods of teaching and testing in English. This newsletter is distributed to the regional co-ordinators who, in turn, distribute it among their colleagues.

An association of regional co-ordinators of English second-language teaching has been formed. The influence of this association has been limited because of the heavy teaching load of its members.

While the observations contained in this report refer to the teaching of English in the French-language schools of Quebec, some of them are valid also for the teaching of English to students who attend English-language schools but whose mother tongue is not English. Hundreds of such students are being taught by teachers without special training in second-language teaching and with textbooks and methods appropriate only for students whose mother tongue is English. The presence of these students in English-language schools has received little or no educational recognition and the special learning problems involved are largely ignored.

G. Quebec: English-language Roman Catholic Schools

1. Compulsory French

French is compulsory from Grade IV to the end of high school. This regulation applies not only in the college preparatory stream but also in the general course. Among the English-language universities and colleges of Quebec, Loyola and Marianopolis require French for admission, while Bishop's specifies either French or Latin. Sir George Williams and McGill have no modern-language prerequisite. French is not generally compulsory for university graduation. Thus McGill has a language requirement for arts students, but French is only one of several options. Bishop's does specify French, however, as a subject of study in its business administration course, and Sir George Williams requires either a course in French or pass standing in a special French examination for students in engineering.

2. Optional French

In most schools of greater Montreal and in all those of the Quebec City area, a few minutes a day are devoted to informal work in French in Grades I to III. Elsewhere, this practice is much less frequent.

3. Weekly time schedules

The approximate figures are 150 minutes for Grades IV to VII and 200 to 250 minutes for Grades VIII to XII.

4. Aims

The present course of study for the elementary grades points out that the aim should be to give the pupils "a working knowledge of French," and that this implies "the ability to understand spoken French and to express one's ideas in this language." The high school programme states that the general aim is "to give the pupils a usable knowledge of French according to their level of education, taking into account their needs both social and cultural, as well as their future vocational plans." Further specific aims stress the need to develop the four language skills and to promote an understanding and appreciation of French culture.

5. Curricula, texts, methods

For several years now the manual for the elementary grades has been a direct-method text which is virtually ungraded and is outmoded in many respects. It has remained in use chiefly because it is familiar and because no alternative text with a Quebec background has been available.

The high school text has also been in use for some time. Its cultural base is Paris and its approach is traditional. The official course of study contains a useful statement of modern-language theory and practice, but the format of the prescribed text does not lend itself readily to the recommended procedures.

An important change at the elementary level has been the approval of *LE FRANÇAIS PARTOUT*, an audio-lingual programme starting in Grade III or IV. Its introduction marks the beginning of a sequential series of courses leading into high school work. For the earliest grades a teachers' source book of rhymes, games, and songs has also been authorized.

6. Articulated sequence

At the present time there is no articulation between the elementary and high school French courses. The two textbooks in use in the secondary schools do, however, provide a graded course of instruction at the secondary level.

7. Teaching aids

In the past the English-language Roman Catholic public schools of Quebec have generally made little use of audio-visual and other electronic

equipment for the teaching of the second language. Now, however, tape recorders are found in most high schools and many elementary schools as well. Only a few of the high schools, chiefly in the Montreal area, are now equipped with language laboratories. This situation may be expected to change gradually as new courses requiring the use of recording and projection equipment are introduced. (See Section 9.)

School telecasts in the early months of 1967 included a few French programmes for most grade levels. These were intended for enrichment rather than for regular instruction. For Grades III to VII there were general knowledge lessons presented in a classroom setting. The programmes for the higher grades included situational dialogues and a documentary entitled "*Le Québec en marche*."

8. Examinations

Departmental examinations are held at the end of Grades XI and XII. In both cases the French examination consists of two papers, one in composition and grammar and the other in authors, for a total of 200 marks. Fully half of the marks in Grade XI authors are allotted to oral-aural skills including listening comprehension, oral expression, and dictation. The questions for written answers, apart from a free composition, are almost entirely of the objective type, with a variety of devices for measuring reading comprehension and knowledge of structure, vocabulary, and idiom. The Grade XII examination also includes both a speaking and a listening test totalling 25 marks.

9. Trends and proposed changes

In September 1967, three experimental programmes were launched in certain selected English-language schools, both Roman Catholic and Protestant. In Grades III and IV nearly one hundred schools adopted the television course *PARLONS FRANÇAIS*,¹ which was prepared a few years ago in the United States under the auspices of the Modern Language Association.

In Grades IV and V the audio-visual course *BONJOUR LINE* was introduced in the fall of 1967 in selected schools where teachers had had training in this method.

At the Grade VII level a few schools are experimenting with a similar but more advanced

¹ W. F. H. Whitmarsh-Klinck, *PARLONS FRANÇAIS* (Toronto, 1957-8).

audio-visual course, *LE FRANÇAIS INTERNATIONAL*,¹ developed at the University of Montreal.

This experimentation in the lower classes will soon be followed by further pilot projects in the upper grades. A new text is being tried out in Grade IX and others are under consideration. At the high school level the long-range plan is for a two- or three-stream second-language programme in which students may be grouped according to ability. It is envisaged that rates of progress and standards of achievement will vary from stream to stream and that different textbooks and approaches will be required for the different streams.

10. Teacher supply and qualifications

In the elementary grades, since most teachers are generalists, French is the responsibility of the classroom teacher. If the latter cannot speak French, she may arrange an exchange of subjects with a teacher who can. In the high school grades, at least in the city schools, the French teacher is usually a specialist who speaks French and teaches it exclusively.

Despite the fact that Quebec is a French-speaking province, teachers of French as a second language are not available in the numbers required. Qualified teachers are in short supply in both the French- and English-language schools and, given a choice, a Francophone teacher will normally prefer to work with his own language group. Although there has been some recruitment of generalists from the British Isles, no special measures are generally taken in the English-language Roman Catholic system to obtain teachers of French from overseas.

11. Teacher preparation

There are four institutions which provide teacher training for English-speaking Roman Catholic teachers. These include St. Joseph Teachers College in Montreal and its two affiliates, one in Quebec City and the other at Cross Point. There is also St. Mary's Teachers College at Chapeau. Only the Montreal institution offers a four-year course leading to the A certificate. The latter diploma is also granted to holders of a bachelor's degree after one year's attendance. The remaining colleges provide a two-year course leading to the B certificate.

One credit in French language is required of all first-year candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Education. A methods course in the

teaching of French, including laboratory techniques, is given only to those candidates who have chosen French as one of the two subjects of concentration.

12. In-service training, supervision, guidance

The universities, colleges, and teacher-training institutions of Quebec provide an exceptionally wide variety of summer and extension courses for teachers of French as a second language. The numerous summer schools, operating in a French environment, attract teachers not only from Quebec but from the other provinces of Canada and many parts of the United States. A wealth of academic and professional courses is available in the fields of language, literature, civilization, teaching methods, testing techniques, and linguistics. Many of the teachers take these courses simply to improve their grasp of the language and culture; others are concerned with upgrading their teaching diplomas or obtaining higher degrees. Four Quebec institutions of higher learning (Laval, Montreal, McGill, and Marianopolis) have well-established departments of linguistics. Moreover, the special courses in language didactics at Laval University and in applied linguistics at the University of Montreal include each year demonstration classes in the latest methods of language teaching, often with the originators of the various methods in the role of instructors.

There are no departmental or local inspectors of French. There is in the curriculum branch a divisional director of French as a second language. He is responsible for course planning and the preparation of examinations, but these duties are administrative rather than supervisory. Moreover, in the English-language Catholic system, there are as yet no regional co-ordinators of French and department heads are only beginning to appear in the larger schools.

In 1966, a significant development was the formation of "L'Association des professeurs de français (langue seconde)." Its membership includes both Roman Catholic and Protestant teachers at all levels, including university. The annual two-day convention of the Provincial Association of Catholic Teachers provides another opportunity for French specialists to get together and discuss mutual problems. Finally, briefings by publishers and authors to demonstrate new language courses are becoming more common and help teachers to keep up with recent developments.

¹ G. Rondeau and J.-P. Vinay, *LE FRANÇAIS INTERNATIONAL*, a structural approach to the teaching of French to English-speaking Canadians (Montreal, 1966).

H. Greater Montreal: English-language Protestant Schools¹

1. Compulsory French

French is taught to all students in the Protestant schools of greater Montreal from Grade III to Grade XI.

In high school, four levels of French language courses are offered—enriched, regular, general, and practical. Grade VIII, which has no general course, and Grade XI, which has no practical course, are exceptions.

2. Optional French

About 20 of 80 elementary schools offer French on a daily basis of 10 to 15 minutes per day to children in Kindergarten, Grade I or Grade II. In many cases, instruction at the primary level is given by French specialists; in others, the class teacher gives the instruction.

In Grade XII, at the High School of Montreal, French becomes an elective subject. Some 60 to 65 per cent of the students enrolled choose to follow this course which requires the study, oral and written, of four literary texts.

3. Weekly time schedules

Time allotments are, in Grade III, 100 minutes per week; in Grades IV to VII, 150 minutes per week; and in Grades VII to XII, 250 minutes per week. During his school career from Grade III to Grade XI, the student receives an average of 975 hours of instruction in French.

4. Aims

The *Handbook for Teachers* gives the following aims: to develop in pupils a familiarity with French as a spoken language to a degree which will enable them to communicate easily with their French-speaking fellow-citizens; to give pupils a knowledge of the written language which will allow them to read French literature, at least in its simpler forms, and to write what they can express orally. The handbook goes on to suggest how these aims can be achieved, and emphasizes the importance of oral French as an introduction to the acquisition of all the language skills.

5. Curricula, texts, methods

In Grades III to VII the course includes vocabulary work, intensive verb study, numbers, songs, games, puppet shows, dialogues, and "petites con-

versations." Written work in the form of dictation is deferred to Grade VI and translation is begun in Grade VII.

The texts in use in Grades VIII to X provide a traditional course of instruction in a Canadian setting. In Grade XI, in addition to the authors texts, a review grammar is used. The Grade XII course is devoted to the study of literature. For several years the Protestant School Board has encouraged the adoption of additional courses at the elementary and secondary levels and has promoted the extension of French into Kindergarten, Grade I, and Grade II. At the primary level, it is recommended that French be introduced only by a qualified French specialist who has a very good accent and intonation and is familiar with primary methods of teaching, or by a primary teacher with better than average fluency, intonation, and accuracy in French.

The course offered at the high school level places great emphasis on oral communication and provides intensive study of a wide variety of topics relating to the student's daily life, to Canada, and to France.

Since September 1966, all high schools have been operating under the subject promotion system which affords, to a very great extent, individual timetabling for each student and the streaming of each year's student enrolment into the enriched, regular, general, or practical levels. At the enriched level, certain subjects such as history and geography are taught in French, more stories are read and an extended oral performance is demanded from those students who make up the top 15 to 18 per cent of each grade. At the general and practical levels, very roughly divided on an I.Q. basis of 90 to 109 and under 90 respectively, a conversational course with some reading is offered in an attempt to give these students the ability to communicate in everyday language with their French-speaking compatriots. As far as possible, the patterns of languages and vocabulary and the materials, textual or audio-visual, are oriented to the Canadian and Quebec scenes.

6. Articulated sequence

When the current Grade VI and VII French texts were revised about six years ago, an attempt was made to smooth the transition from elementary to high school.

7. Teaching aids

Eight of the 20 high schools are each equipped with a 36- to 38-position language laboratory

¹ Detailed information is not available for other Protestant schools in Quebec. All Protestant schools in the province do, however, follow the same curriculum as the Protestant schools of greater Montreal.

which offers a listen-response record sequence at all positions. Certain programmes are prepared on tape by the department head, laboratory assistant, and interested teachers within each school, but a complete range of tapes covering the grammar, verbs, and reading passages of *Le français pratique*¹ provides the main course of the laboratory programme. These programmes were prepared and recorded by teachers working under the French consultants.

A series of five or six television programmes, 20 to 25 minutes in length, has been prepared as enrichment, to complement the course at each grade level from III to XI. These are shown each year, over the CBC network, as far away as Quebec City, so that as many schools as possible within 150 miles of Montreal can receive the transmissions.

For the benefit of elementary teachers, the French consultants have had the following materials recorded on tape or disc: guides to pronunciation and intonation for classroom teachers who do their own teaching of French in Grades III to VII; songs for children at the Kindergarten to Grade II level; and songs for children at the Grade IV to VII level.

Charts, posters, flannel boards and magnetic boards, filmstrips and films are in wide use, especially at the elementary level, to reinforce the teaching of oral French.

8. Examinations

In Grades III to V, 100 marks are given for oral French, based on the pupils' ability to answer general questions and their knowledge of the playlets. In Grade VI, 80 marks are given for oral work and 20 for written work—mostly dictation and simple verb forms. In Grade VII, 75 marks are given for oral work and 25 for written—dictation, verb forms, short sentences. In Grades VIII to XI, 100 are given for oral and 100 for written work.

9. Trends and proposed changes

The growing emphasis on language learning and teaching by means of patterns and structures, with tapes and filmstrips as a complement, has made much course material obsolete. A new integrated course from Grade III to Grade XII is in the process of development.

Pilot projects have been underway for years at the elementary level with *BONJOUR LINE*, and *LE FRANÇAIS INTERNATIONAL* has been used in

some classrooms in the Grade IX and X general course. VIF has been tried in isolated instances.

10. Teacher supply and qualifications

Many French specialists have been recruited for the elementary schools from France, Belgium, Switzerland, North Africa, and Egypt because of the extreme shortage of qualified, experienced teachers of French in Quebec. Despite the impressive total of 80 specialists for 80 elementary schools, these teachers can cover no more than 40 per cent of the French-language classes. In most of the classes, the regular class teacher teaches French. Three French consultants provide taped material, in-service courses, and demonstration lessons to upgrade the quality of the French taught at the elementary level. Since October 1966, some of these teachers, in groups of no more than five, have received intensive instruction and practice in French conversation. It is estimated that at least one-third of the 187 teachers engaged in teaching French in the high schools are Francophone, certified or awaiting certification. The majority of teachers are Anglophone, with at least a bachelor's degree in arts. Many have their Master of Arts degree and/or first class French Specialist Certificate.

11. Teacher preparation

Candidates entering Macdonald College of McGill University to qualify for their Class II Teaching Diploma may choose French as one of their optional courses if they have the necessary background of oral and written proficiency in French. Once these teachers have received their certificate and have taught for at least one year, they may apply for admission to the course leading to the French Specialist Certificate. Several universities—Laval, McGill, University of Montreal, Loyola, and Sir George Williams—offer special summer or extension courses to allow teachers to perfect their oral fluency in French.

12. In-service training, supervision, guidance

A team of three consultants is responsible for the French programme in the 80 elementary and 20 high schools which come under the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal.

Since the appointment in 1965 of a director of the teaching of French as a second language for Protestant and Roman Catholic English-

¹R. A. Peck and D. W. Buchanan, *Le français pratique* (Toronto, 1959).

language schools, progress has been made towards bringing about a common course of study throughout the province, with common aims and methodology.

1. Ontario

1. Compulsory French

French is not a compulsory language in the schools of Ontario.

2. Optional French

Since September 1966, French has officially been an optional subject in Grades VII and VIII, but it can be offered in all other grades of elementary school.

Most students in the five-year arts stream carry a language option through Grades IX to XIII and a second language option is offered in the four-year stream in some schools. French is the language chosen by most students, although Latin, Greek, German, Spanish, Italian, and Russian are also offered. A second language is rarely offered in the two-year or four-year vocational courses.

Of the 16 universities in the province, only three (Brock, Trent, Waterloo) do not require a second language for admission to the general arts programme. Eleven universities require a second language at the Grade XIII level, one (Queen's) at the Grade XII level, and one (Ottawa) requires both English and French.

In 1967-8 almost two-thirds of the pupils enrolled in Grades VII and VIII were studying French. Statistics are not available for Grades IX to XI. In 1966-7 there were 36,800 Grade XII students enrolled in the five-year arts and science programme; some 32,000 or over 87 per cent of them chose French as an option. Of the 1,600 students enrolled in the five-year science, technology, and trades programme, 1,200 or 73 per cent chose French. In the four-year arts and science course, 1,300 of 4,600 students (28 per cent) were studying French.

3. Weekly time schedules

In the few cases where French is offered at the Kindergarten level, 10- to 15-minute classes are offered two to five times per week. In Grades I to III, classes are sometimes only three or four times weekly but usually daily, for 15 minutes. In Grades IV to VI, there are four to five classes weekly, each 15 to 20 minutes long. In Grades

VII and VIII, there are usually four to five 20-minute periods weekly. In some large centres where French is offered as part of a rotary programme, classes are sometimes timetabled twice weekly, each of 35 to 40 minutes duration. In Grades IX to XII there are five or six weekly 35- to 40-minute periods, and in Grade XIII, six to eight periods per week.

4. Aims

The official outline of aims for the French programme includes: fostering of goodwill towards, and understanding of, fellow Canadians who speak French; developing an appreciation of the difficulties of children learning English as a second language; and promoting favourable attitudes towards second-language learning at higher levels. Specific aims stress the aural-oral skills and their transfer to the reading and writing skills.

5. Curricula, texts, methods

Since the Ontario department of Education recognized French as an official option in Grades VII and VIII in September 1966, a new course of study is being developed, extending from Grades VII to XIII. In many areas of the province, French instruction is begun earlier than Grade VII, in which case the local authority is responsible for developing a suitable sequential course of study.

Many texts are in use but a list of authorized texts by Canadian authors, for which local school boards can receive incentive grants, is prepared by the department. No textbooks are authorized at the elementary level because the programme is completely oral, but the department does announce the availability of records, tapes, and visual aids. At the secondary school level, textbooks and audio-visual programmes are both listed.

The suggested methodology for the new and developing curricula in French places emphasis on the linguistic approach, dealing with the development of sequential structures, rather than on the oral-aural method only.

The linguistic aim is for mastery of the sound system of the language, of a limited number of structures, and of a restricted vocabulary. This is to be accomplished through active participation of the students in situational dialogues.

6. Articulated sequence

Much progress has been made in the articulation of elementary and secondary school French programmes in the period 1966 to 1968. Formerly, few areas had formed committees which

included teachers of French from the two levels, but with the development of the new curricula, this is becoming more common. The key group is the one which began studying French in Grade VII in September 1966. The new curriculum for Grades IX and X became operative in September 1968; this new programme should give further impetus to the groups of teachers working throughout the province on the articulation of the French programme.

7. Teaching aids

The effective use of teaching aids depends upon the initiative of the individual teacher and upon the guidance offered by his department head.

Assistance has been offered for some years through a series of school broadcasts by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and, since 1963-4, by the Metropolitan Educational Television Association.

In the school year 1967-8, the education television division of the department of Education arranged for two series of French programmes, one to supplement the Grade XIII authors course, the other to interpret the new curriculum to teachers of elementary and secondary School French. The use of television is being further extended in the school year 1968-9.

Particular courses which lean heavily on audio-visual materials, such as *ÉCOUTER ET PARLER*, *JE PARLE FRANÇAIS*, and *VOIX ET IMAGES DE FRANCE*, are used in various centres throughout the province, usually on an experimental basis.

A committee to study and make recommendations on the use of language laboratories in second-language teaching has been meeting for some time, and its report is expected to influence the decisions of school boards regarding the use of language laboratories.

8. Examinations

Suggestions from the department of Education accompanying the new courses of study will recommend the following emphasis on oral work: Grade VII (Level 1), 100 per cent; Grade VIII, 65 per cent; Grades IX to XIII, 40 to 50 per cent (proposed). As a general rule, it is recommended that any second-language French programme begun at the elementary school level be restricted to oral work during the first half of such a course (that is, a course beginning in Grade V would not introduce any reading until Grade VII).

For the past few years, the Grade XIII examination has included tests on dictation and listening skills. In June 1967, a portion of the final mark

was based upon a speaking test to be administered to every student writing the Grade XIII examination. In 1966, 25 per cent of the final mark was based entirely upon the teacher's assessment. In 1967, this was increased to 35 per cent, and in 1968, when Grade XIII departmental examinations were withdrawn completely, the entire decision was left in the hands of the local authorities.

At the elementary school level the trend is away from the formal examination, with perhaps one brief oral examination to be administered each year. The evaluation takes the form of an anecdotal report, sometimes accompanied by a letter grade, based upon the pupil's participation in the class from day to day.

9. Trends and proposed changes

As noted above in Section 5, new curricula for Grades VII and VIII have already been published; the curricula for Grades IX and X were published in the summer of 1968. Work will proceed on new programmes for Grades XI to XIII to be followed by preparation of programmes for Grades V and VI and the consequent revision of the Grade VII to XIII programmes. In addition to this, a number of experimental courses are being used.

10. Teacher supply and qualifications

There are no statistics available on the fluency of teachers of French. It is known from the many requests for Letters of Permission received from boards of education throughout the province that there is a shortage of well-qualified teachers. Some persons teaching French under the authority of such Letters of Permission are those who have native fluency (and sometimes some teacher education and experience) but who have not earned the university degree necessary for entry to one of the colleges of education. Others may have completed a university degree but not the required courses in teacher education.

The teacher supply at the elementary school level is expanding more rapidly. It is felt that the rapid growth of the elementary school French programme is attracting many teachers into this field.

11. Teacher preparation

A qualified teacher of academic subjects in a secondary school requires an approved degree from an accredited university and an Interim High School Assistant's Certificate, Type B. This certificate is granted by the minister of Education

for Ontario upon successful completion of a teacher-training course at an Ontario college of education, subsequent to the acquisition of an approved basic university degree.

The Interim High School Assistant's Certificate, Type A (for graduates with second-class honours, or better, from certain designated honours courses, or for those possessing other advanced standing), provides a higher professional standing, and is generally required from teachers who are seeking the responsibility of teaching at the Grade xiii level, or of heading a modern-language department in a secondary school.

Any teacher possessing an elementary school teaching certificate is now qualified to teach French in English-language elementary schools. Ideally, however, only those teachers who have completed the department's summer course in the teaching of French to English-speaking pupils in elementary schools, who possess an elementary school teacher's certificate valid in English-language schools, and who are fluently bilingual in French and English, would be permitted to teach this subject. It is planned that eventually all such teachers of French will require the department's summer course in order to teach French as a second language, but it would not be realistic to insist upon this at the present time. Three years ago, foreseeing the potential shortage of teachers of French, the department made special arrangements for training those residents of the province who were fluent in the language and might be considered as potential teachers of French in elementary schools.

A course in the teaching of French to English-speaking pupils in elementary schools is offered in six of the 11 English-language teachers' colleges, as an extra option to selected groups of students competent in both written and spoken French. These students thus earn an extra certificate at the same time as their basic teaching certificate.

In the summer of 1966, and again in 1967, a six-week "immersion" course to improve the fluency of teachers of French (both elementary and secondary) was offered at the Centre for Continuing Education at Elliot Lake. In the summer of 1968, the course was held at Sainte-Thérèse-de-Blainville, 20 miles north of Montreal. Selected candidates live in residence and receive from teachers whose mother tongue is French a thorough grounding in French conversation, methodology, culture and civilization, and linguistics. An out-of-class recreation programme is designed to provide further conversational practice.

12. *In-service training, supervision, guidance*

The Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation offers summer courses for updating the professional competence of its members. It offers similar training in content and methodology by sponsoring professional development days, seminars, and workshops, throughout the province. It also provides resource booklets for each high school subject.

On-the-job guidance is available to French teachers from the modern-language consultants of the department of Education and also—on a daily basis, if required—from the head of the department of modern languages.

In early 1968 a "curriculum updating" series of eight half-hour telecasts was sponsored by the department. The purpose of the series was to provide teachers of French in Grades vii and viii with the opportunity of observing master teachers using the modern techniques required for the effective presentation of the new programme. There were also commentaries by special consultants on the classroom procedures shown. A similar series for Grade ix and x teachers will be provided in 1969.

In elementary schools, the guidance of teachers of French is the responsibility of the local area superintendent. Since he often lacks competence in the spoken language, he frequently seeks help and advice from the French specialists and programme consultants of the curriculum section of the department of Education.

J. Manitoba

1. Compulsory French

French is not a compulsory subject of study in the schools of Manitoba. The college preparatory programme does, however, require a language option—French, German, Latin, or Ukrainian—because the University of Manitoba specifies a language other than English for admission to nearly all faculties and courses. Since the vast majority of secondary school students are enrolled in the academic course, and since at least one previous year of French is required to begin the university entrance French course in Grade x, most students have at least four years of French on leaving high school at the end of Grade xii (senior matriculation).

2. Optional French

French is available as a local option from Grade i through Grade xii. In high school it is offered in the university entrance, general, and com-

mercial courses, and will be offered in the new occupational course. In all grades and in all courses there are two parallel programmes, one called French, the other *français*. The latter is meant for Francophones, for whom the regular French course would not be sufficiently challenging.

French has been a traditional subject of instruction in Grades IX to XII over the years. It was introduced in Grades VII and VIII some 20 years ago, and extended to Grades IV to VI in 1955. In 1963 French was authorized for Grades I to III. Tradition, prestige, university requirements, and other factors have maintained a fairly high and steady enrolment in the high school grades, particularly in the college preparatory stream. In 1967 the percentage of students taking either French or *français* in these grades was as follows: Grade IX, 78; Grade X, 63; Grade XI, 65; and Grade XII, 72. The non-matriculation courses are relatively new and the number of students electing French in these branches is not yet significant. For instance, only 1,245 pupils were studying French or *français* in Grades IX to XII of the general course.

Grades VII and VIII have often been described as exploratory years. This may account for the large numbers of pupils studying French in these junior grades. In 1967, 17,441 pupils were taking French or *français* in Grade VII, and 15,542 in Grade VIII. These figures represented roughly 88 per cent of the students in Grade VII, and 81 per cent of those in Grade VIII.

Although French has been authorized from Grade IV for 13 years, it is only recently that elementary schools have shown much interest. During the last four years there has been a marked increase in the number of schools and the number of pupils involved with French and/or *français* in both the primary and elementary grades. The picture for 1967 was as follows: Grade I, 4,003; Grade II, 4,011; Grade III, 3,916; Grade IV, 8,139; Grade V, 7,963; Grade VI, 9,386.

In elementary classes (Grades I to VIII) it is permissible to start French at any given grade. Usually, schools endeavour to set up at least a three-year sequence.

3. Weekly time schedules

The suggested weekly time allotment for French is as follows: Grades I to VI, 5 to 6 per cent or 75 to 90 minutes; Grades VII and VIII, 8 per cent or 120 minutes; Grade IX, 10 per cent or 150 minutes; Grades X and XI, 12 per cent or 180 minutes; Grade XII, 18 per cent or 270 minutes.

4. Aims

The general aims and objectives stated in the Manitoba programmes of French are similar to those in other provinces. The emphasis is on the four basic skills of language learning—the ability to understand spoken French, to speak it, to read it with comprehension, and to write it. The cultural aspect is invariably mentioned.

5. Curricula, texts, methods

In the elementary grades up to and including Grade VI, the programme of studies consists mainly of a course which, though not audio-lingual in format, provides a good development programme in oral French. The elementary French curriculum committee is examining more recent courses, some of which are now being used on a pilot basis in a number of elementary classrooms.

In September 1966, ÉCOUTER ET PARLER, the first level of the HRW Audio-Lingual Series, was authorized for use in Grade VII. The same course was introduced into Grade VIII in the fall of 1967 and authorized for Grade IX in September 1968. The second level, PARLER ET LIRE,¹ is being tried in Grade X classes in some 30 schools.

In Grades X and XI of the university entrance course, the reading texts have recently been changed in order to give a new emphasis to reading for comprehension. Reading is no longer to be used for practice in grammar and translation. Recent examinations reflect this new point of view.

6. Articulated sequence

So long as students may begin French in any year from Grade I to Grade IX, and so long as such a wide variety of texts is authorized for regular or pilot courses, the problem of integration remains. The HRW Audio-Lingual Series may eventually provide a sequential course from Grade VII up, but there will still be a need to link this programme with the work done in the earlier years.

7. Teaching Aids

Since 1945, the school broadcasts branch of the Manitoba department of Education, with the co-operation of the CBC, has produced annually a series of approximately 10 French radio programmes called "Le quart d'heure français." In some years these programmes have been intended for elementary schools and in others for secondary schools. There have been many varied types of

¹ A. Langelier, J. N. Levy, P. O'Connor, LE FRANÇAIS: PARLER ET LIRE (New York, 1963).

programmes—readings or radio plays based on stories from the literature texts, lessons on grammar or vocabulary, interviews with well-known personalities, poetry, and songs.

In recent years the programmes of "Le quart d'heure français" have been taped and duplicated for schools. A script is sent out with each recording, and the text often includes pictures which provide visual reinforcement for the audio teaching. The school broadcasts branch also duplicates for schools the tapes which accompany the new HRW texts.

For the past few years the school broadcasts branch, with the co-operation of the CBC, has transmitted to Manitoba students the national schools television series for Grades VII to XI, "Visite au Québec."

A catalogue of French tape recordings has been prepared, listing a wide variety of programmes for both French and *français*.

8. Examinations

Examinations for Grades I to X are the responsibility of individual schools. In Grade XI examinations are set by the department of Education but marked locally in each school. The Grade XII papers are both set and marked by the provincial examination branch.

The university entrance examinations in French in Grades XI and XII contain a good deal of translation both from and into French. They do not as yet include a listening test, though aural comprehension is being measured on an experimental basis in matriculation and other classes.

In the final examinations for Grades XI and XII of the general course, dictation and aural comprehension tests count for 25 per cent of the final mark, and there is no translation.

9. Trends and proposed changes

There has been a great deal of experimentation in Manitoba schools, both in elementary and secondary classes, with a variety of "new key" courses for the teaching of French. The growing emphasis on the development of aural-oral skills and rapid-reading ability may be expected to continue. The extension of audio-lingual courses into the junior high schools will necessitate a complete revision of the programmes in Grades XI and XII.

10. Teacher supply and qualifications

The general shortage of teachers in Manitoba is reflected in a lack of qualified teachers of French. As we have seen, Manitoba provides

two courses, French and *français*, in all grades and in all branches of the curriculum. This creates a heavy demand for teachers with fluency in French. The introduction of audio-lingual courses has further increased the strain on the available supply. Some relief has been provided by the growing readiness of Franco-Manitobans to teach in predominantly English-speaking communities, and also in the increasing opportunities for teachers of language to update their qualifications. The problem of an insufficient supply of language teachers, however, is likely to remain for some time to come.

11. Teacher preparation

On completion of Grade XII a student may enter the Education IA programme at either the University of Manitoba or Brandon University. After one year's instruction he is granted an Interim First Class Certificate permitting him to teach in the elementary grades. In 1967 a two-year pilot programme of elementary teacher training was introduced.

To teach in a high school, university graduates with a bachelor's degree in arts or science, or the equivalent, must complete the one-year Education I programme leading to the Interim Collegiate Certificate. To obtain the degree of Bachelor of Education, a further year of training is required, either intramurally or through evening and summer courses.

The teacher-training programme in Manitoba provides a French option at three levels—elementary, secondary, and advanced. In 1966-7, at the faculty of Education of the University of Manitoba, 500 of approximately 700 candidates for the elementary teachers' course indicated an interest in taking the French option. These candidates were screened and 360 were selected for language training. Included were some 70 Francophones, half of whom were selected for the teaching of *français*. Candidates were given a one-hour laboratory period and one hour of methodology per four-day cycle.

In September 1967, the course was modified to prepare the student teachers for the new audio-lingual courses that are pilot projects in several elementary schools. The emphasis has changed from theory to such practical procedures as imitation, repetition, and evaluation.

At the secondary and advanced (B. Ed.) levels the course is more intensive, but the methods remain practical and the approach inductive. Theory is introduced as the need for it is discovered.

12. *In-service training, supervision, guidance*

Each year the department of Education provides summer courses in the teaching of elementary French in Grades I to VI. In recent years there has been an additional junior high school course based on *ÉCOUTER ET PARLER*. Tuition fees are paid by the department. There are also summer courses for teachers who are working towards the degree of Bachelor of Education.

The department organizes in-service training for teachers at different centres throughout the province. Regional meetings are held in connection with new courses in order to provide orientation for the teachers concerned. The Manitoba Teachers Society co-operates fully in these projects.

There are three French curriculum committees, one each for the elementary, junior high school, and senior high school programmes. These committees travel about the province on weekends during the school year demonstrating, explaining, and discussing the reaction of teachers to the new courses of instruction.

Teachers of French have the opportunity of discussing their problems together at the Easter convention of the Manitoba Modern Language Association and in other meetings sponsored by this organization during the school year. The association also publishes a bulletin to assist language teachers.

There are no modern-language inspectors as such appointed by the department. Local supervisors of French are found in the greater Winnipeg area and department heads have been appointed in the larger schools.

K. *Saskatchewan*

1. *Compulsory French*

Although a second language is not compulsory in the schools of Saskatchewan, most high school students intending to enter university carry a language option, since most colleges at the University of Saskatchewan require a language other than English for admission and graduation. French is the language selected by the majority of matriculation candidates, but a considerable number elect Ukrainian and German, and a few take Latin.

2. *Optional French*

In September 1967, French was started at the Grade VII level as an authorized programme.

Previously, it had been offered in Grades IX to XII, with approximately 75 per cent of matriculation students taking it in Grade IX, about 70 per cent in Grade X, and 60 per cent in Grades XI and XII. A few schools begin French at the Grade V level with departmental permission. Lack of qualified teachers have hampered the extension of French courses.

The Schools Act also makes provision for French to be offered for one hour a day in communities where such instruction is approved by the school board. For many years communities with a predominantly French population have made use of this opportunity. In 1966, 54 such communities were providing French instruction starting in Grade I. This involved approximately 1,200 Grade I pupils, with a gradually decreasing number up to Grade VIII (about 650). In planning these programmes the department has worked closely with the Association culturelle franco-canadienne.

3. *Weekly time schedules*

Grades IX to XII have a minimum of 150 minutes of French instruction per week. The new programme for Grades VII to IX allots 120 minutes per week, and the special French programme allots one hour a day.

4. *Aims*

While in the past schools have been encouraged to stress the four aspects of language skill, because of the lack of fluency on the part of many teachers more attention has been given to reading and grammar. However, with the new programme the following aims now apply: 1. to develop the ability to speak French with accurate pronunciation; 2. to develop the comprehension of spoken French; 3. to develop skill in reading French; 4. to develop skill in writing French; 5. to acquaint students with the rules of French grammar as they occur, but only when such knowledge becomes necessary to fuller comprehension and to correct writing; and 6. to stimulate an interest in and a knowledge of the culture of Canada and of France by means of relating to life in French Canada and France.

5. *Curricula, texts, methods*

In the new course intended for Grades VII to IX, schools may choose between two series of programmes. *VOIX ET IMAGES DE FRANCE* and *LE FRANÇAIS INTERNATIONAL*.

Present texts in use in Grades x to xii will be phased out as the new series for Grades vii to ix is gradually extended in the high school grades.

A new bulletin outlines the philosophy of the new programme and offers suggestions with respect to evaluation procedures, including aural comprehension tests.

6. Articulated sequence

When the new programme has been fully implemented there will be an integrated course of instruction for Grades vii to xii.

7. Teaching aids

Weekly school broadcasts have been provided for many years to accompany the Grade ix and x programmes. They have followed the textbook and have given teachers and pupils the opportunity to hear French correctly spoken. A series of 20 telecasts was begun in the fall of 1967. The materials used are based on LE FRANÇAIS INTERNATIONAL.

The school broadcasts branch provides follow-up tape recordings for the radio programmes in Grades ix and x and also for the new television series. Schools supply blank tapes and the recordings are prepared free of charge.

Correspondence instruction in French is provided for Grades ix to xii. Some 589 students were enrolled in correspondence courses during the school year 1965-6. The number of high school students studying French in this way has been steadily decreasing.

8. Examinations

Provincial examinations in French are conducted only at the Grade xii (senior matriculation) level. In the school year 1965-6 there were 7,504 candidates writing Grade xii French out of a total of 11,400. To date there have been marks allotted for translation, vocabulary, and grammar, and none for aural comprehension. In the new programme, however, starting with Grade vii, 70 per cent will be allocated to oral work and this will gradually change with progression up the grades to approximately 25 per cent oral and the remainder on reading comprehension, translation, grammar, and vocabulary.

9. Trends and proposed changes

The selection of the new courses mentioned in Section 5 was preceded by a two-year period of experimentation. During this time no fewer

than nine modern programmes were used on a trial basis in numerous Grade vii, viii, and ix classes, with departmental approval.

10. Teacher supply and qualifications

There is a shortage of qualified French teachers in Saskatchewan. A recent survey of some 500 teachers of French showed that only 290 were fluent or reasonably fluent in the language. In many instances teachers have been assigned to the teaching of French without sufficient qualifications, particularly in speaking the language. There is now a new urgency felt about fluency in French, however, and it is hoped that the situation will improve appreciably.

11. Teacher preparation

To enter the colleges of education in Saskatchewan, candidates must have completed Grade xii. Many of these students have had four years of high school French. For those planning to teach French, the colleges provide classes that stress oral skills and methodology. In addition, summer classes are provided to give further practice in oral French. Some of these are conducted wholly in French.

12. In-service training, supervision, guidance

The colleges of education at both campuses of the university provide credit courses during the summer for the upgrading of teachers. For the past four summers, courses have been offered in French conversation at two levels.

On October 1, 1966, a supervisor of French was engaged by the department of Education to advise French teachers with respect to methodology, reference materials, and desirable emphasis. He helps with the development of new courses and the choice of new texts, and spends much of his time in the field.

Area workshops of three days' duration were introduced in the fall of 1967 to provide orientation for teachers of the new Grade vii, viii, and ix courses, including French. There is as yet no organized association of French teachers working within the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, although at conventions and institutes French teachers have an opportunity to get together and make recommendations. But there is a strong French association in the province, started many years ago, outside the formal school setting, with the aim of keeping alive the French tradition and language within the province. The association is an active organization with periodic meetings and

a secretariat. Most French-speaking teachers belong to it and their influence has been strong in the development of the present French programme in Saskatchewan schools.

L. Alberta

1. Compulsory French

The study of French is not obligatory in the schools of Alberta. The University of Alberta and the University of Calgary require senior matriculation (Grade XII) standing in a second language, usually but not necessarily French, for admission to the faculty of arts. There is no longer a language prerequisite for entrance to most other faculties, including education. A modern or classical language is usually an acceptable elective subject, except for admission to engineering. The University of Lethbridge does not specify a second language as a condition of admission to any faculty.

2. Optional French

The cities of Calgary and Edmonton, with slightly less than half the total population of the province, offer a nine-year sequence of French instruction extending from Grade IV to the end of high school. In the separate schools of Edmonton, and in both the separate and public schools of Calgary, French in Grades IV to VI is virtually a "compulsory option." Some 30,00 children are studying French in these grades in the Calgary area alone.

Sixty per cent of the elementary public schools of Edmonton offer French in Grades V and VI, with some of these schools beginning French in Grade IV. More schools will be included in the programme as more teachers of French become available.

Active French programmes in elementary classes are also established in other urban centres. They are not usually found in rural schools, except in such areas as St. Paul, Bonnyville, and Falher, where French is used as the language of instruction during at least part of the day. In these districts, pupils of non-French origin are permitted to take instruction in French and often develop a good working knowledge of the language.

In the junior high schools (Grades VII to IX), French becomes one of several exploratory options; others are music, art, dramatics, home economics, and industrial arts. A pupil must

normally elect French in Grade VII if he is to continue its study in the two following grades. In 1965-6, in the Calgary public schools, 87 per cent of Grade VII students were studying French. The figures for Grades VIII and IX were 72 per cent and 67 per cent respectively, with a general average of 75 per cent for junior high schools. The overall average is comparable in other city systems, but statistics are lacking for the outlying regions.

In the Edmonton public school system, the 40 junior high schools have a sequential French programme.

It is only in the senior high school grades that provincial records are kept of the registration by subject. In 1966, about 64 per cent of the students in Grade X, 51 per cent of those in Grade XI, and 38 per cent of those in Grade XII were studying French. The vast majority of these students were in the matriculation stream, though some were in the general course. In 1967-8, the percentages were somewhat lower; in Grades X, XI, and XII respectively, 58, 48, and 35 per cent of the students were studying French.

3. Weekly time schedules

In Grades IV to VI there are 75 to 100 minutes of French instruction per week; in Grades VII to IX, 112 minutes; and in Grades X to XII, 200 minutes.

4. Aims

There is no departmental bulletin and hence no official statement of aims for elementary French. The 1967 curriculum guide for secondary French outlines two programmes, one extending over a six-year period (Grades VII to XII) and the other confined to the three senior high school grades. The long course is based on an audio-lingual approach; the short course may be either audio-lingual or traditional in format, though even in the latter case the emphasis is generally on the development of aural-oral skills.

The official guide stresses the need for teaching language as a vehicle of communication and underlines the economic, social, and cultural values of language study. In achieving fluency it is recommended that the vocabulary and structures taught be limited to those listed in *Le français fondamental*¹—Level One for the three-year course, and possibly Levels One and Two for the six-year programme, though the amount of coverage for the longer course is still under study.

¹ France, Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, *Le français fondamental* (Paris, 1959).

The specific objectives further emphasize the communications and audio-lingual aspects of instruction. The student is expected to develop the ability to understand French as it is spoken by a native speaker; speak French in everyday situations, read French easily and with comprehension; and communicate in writing anything he can say. These skills are to be developed within the context of the pupil's experience and vocabulary.

5. Curricula, texts, methods

In Grades iv to vi of the public and separate schools of Calgary, French has been taught by television since 1960. At that time a local television station offered its facilities for an experiment with "Parlons français." The purpose of the experiment was to test the hypothesis that a competent television teacher, a competent supervisor, and a team of classroom teachers with a minimum of matriculation French, would do an effective job of instruction at the elementary level. The project started with about 1,500 pupils in 42 classrooms. In the past seven years it has grown to include some 30,000 Grade vii, viii, and ix pupils in virtually all the schools of greater Calgary.

Every school day at 9:15 a.m., a 15-minute broadcast is beamed to one of the three grades concerned. The follow-up lessons of the same length are conducted by the classroom teacher, and then there is another television lesson.

Although the "Parlons français" series provides the core of the course, there are a number of locally produced broadcasts as well.

The various in-service training programmes that accompany the course are described in Section 12. In addition, printed materials and records are distributed to classroom teachers. Teaching guides present outlines for each lesson, basic classroom expressions, pronunciation difficulties, drills, and materials for enrichment and testing. An attempt has also been made to test aural comprehension through television.

In 1963 the same television course was introduced into Division ii of the Edmonton separate school system. When the local television station was later compelled to withdraw the programme, the school authorities rented two sets of the films and by an ingenious "bicycling" arrangement have continued to provide "Parlons français" on a regular basis to some 60 schools. The film presentations are supplemented by daily follow-up lessons taught by the classroom teacher and based on material provided by the supervisor of French. As in Calgary, a number of live segments have also been prepared locally to adapt

the course to Canadian conditions. Yet another product of local initiative is a reading readiness programme that is introduced in Grade vi.

The television series is not used in the public schools of Edmonton. Instead, elementary pupils are taught the audio-visual course *BONJOUR LINE*, as a preparation for *VOIX ET IMAGES DE FRANCE* in junior high school. Red Deer uses the same course.

At the junior high school level (Grades vii to ix) French is one of several exploratory options which the student may take at the rate of two or sometimes three per year. A student who begins French in Grade vii normally continues the subject in Grades viii and ix, though he is not obliged to do so. Such a student will probably elect to continue the study of French throughout senior high school (Grades x to xii). Prior to 1966, the only French programme authorized by the department was a three-year course for Grades x to xii. All students entering Grade x, regardless of their previous background in the subject, were required to study one of three beginners' texts. In September 1966, the department authorized a new six-year sequential programme extending through Grades vii to xii. Schools and students were given a choice of three programmes: *AUDIO-LINGUAL MATERIALS*, *AURAL-ORAL FRENCH SERIES* (*ÉCOUTER ET PARLER*, etc.), and the first and second levels of *VOIX ET IMAGES DE FRANCE*. The first part of the vif course was already well established in Calgary, Edmonton, and in other communities, including Red Deer.

In 1967, for the first time, students who had had three years training in vif, or in either of the other two audio-lingual courses, were permitted to *continue* its study in Grade x, instead of beginning again with one of the traditional texts. Permission was also granted to *begin* these new programmes in Grade x with those students who had not had the benefit of previous audio-lingual instruction. It was recommended, however, that only teachers who had some training in the methodology of at least one of the authorized programmes be encouraged to teach this new sequence of French courses.

In retaining the three-year programme, at least temporarily, the department considered the fact that, outside the city schools, in many cases it would not be feasible to introduce the new courses. Even here, however, the department recommended that the emphasis as far as possible be on the development of fluency and the ability to communicate.

By June 1970, students completing Grade xii will have been trained under a variety of programmes and this will complicate the problem of evaluation.

6. Articulated sequence

The three courses recommended for the six-year training cycle all purport to be sequential study programmes. The problem remains of integrating these courses with the preceding three years of television or other instruction. There are still many pupils who "begin" French instruction several times. The University of Calgary offers to prospective language teachers a special methods course in which procedures are developed for bridging the gap between elementary and high school French.

7. Teaching aids

As early as 1962 the official syllabus for French and German contained a guide for schools intending to purchase a language laboratory. A survey held in 1965 showed that, because of special government grants, there were already some 27 high schools in the province equipped with language laboratories, and that all but a few of these installations were outside Calgary and Edmonton. The number of laboratories is increasing each year.

The audio-visual services section of the department of Education provides tapes and films. In the larger school systems there are also well-equipped instructional materials centres. One outstanding example is the centre operated by the Edmonton Separate School Board. This provides numerous facilities and services for the distribution, preparation, and production of the most up-to-date instructional aids including audio and video tapes, overhead transparencies, and films. It also provides consultative services and in-service education relating to the selection, preparation, and utilization of materials and equipment.

8. Examinations

The only examination set by the provincial department is normally written at the end of Grade XII. Students who have had sequential instruction in French from Grade VII on are permitted to write at the end of Grade XI. The 1967 examination was based on the assumption that candidates had had three years of instruction in French. The entire paper was in French and no translation from or into English was required. In addition, an aural comprehension test on tape, worth 10 per cent of the total, was included.

9. Trends and proposed changes

In Alberta, at the junior and senior high school levels, the experimental courses of a year or two ago have now become officially authorized programmes. If these new approaches prove successful, a gradual phasing out of the traditional courses may be expected. The department has ambitious plans for the extension of educational television to a number of teaching areas, including modern languages, when the necessary channels have been approved.

10. Teacher supply and qualifications

In a study conducted in 1965, 513 teachers of high school French in the province were surveyed.¹ Of 435 respondents, 321 stated that they were of non-French origin. Of these, over half (55 per cent) admitted that they were not fluent in French. Teachers in small towns and in small high schools tended to lack fluency because they had not learned the language in a French environment, because of an insufficient number of university courses in French, or both reasons. English was used as the language of instruction more than half the time by 250 of the 321 non-French teachers of French. The study questions whether it is possible to attain the audio-lingual goals set by the official course of study when so many teachers themselves lack fluency.

11. Teacher preparation

A Grade XII graduate who obtains 60 per cent in six departmental examinations may enter one of the provincial universities or their affiliated junior colleges. Candidates for the faculty of education must declare a major field of study and also choose between the elementary and secondary Bachelor of Education routes. Those who choose French as their major in the secondary route are required to complete a minimum of five content courses (including courses to develop oral fluency) and one or two methods courses in this subject. To date the small number of French majors has been quite insufficient to meet the demand for qualified teachers of French.

A candidate who completes two years of training is eligible for either a Standard E or Standard S Certificate, the former being valid for Grades I to IX and the latter for Grades IV to XI. After three years of training in either route, candidates may receive the Interim Professional Certificate valid for Grades I to XII; and upon completion of four years, the degree of Bachelor of Education.

¹ George H. Desson, "A Study of the Academic Preparation and Fluency of Alberta High School Teachers of French" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Calgary, 1967).

In Alberta, as in most other provinces, the certification of academic teachers is general, and not by subject. The teaching diploma does not indicate the subject area in which the holder has specialized while attending the faculty of Education. A teacher may be assigned by the school board to the teaching of any academic subject, depending on the needs of the moment.

12. In-service training, supervision, guidance

Both the University of Alberta and the University of Calgary offer summer courses to teachers in the methodology of audio-visual and audio-lingual instruction. The course offered in Calgary is based almost exclusively on *VOIX ET IMAGES DE FRANCE*, and student teachers are required to attend all-day sessions for a period of six weeks. After an intensive training and indoctrination phase, including the observation of demonstration classes, the student teachers gradually take over the instruction themselves. In 1967 the Edmonton Public School Board offered ten \$300 bursaries to teachers of French for summer courses in either language or methodology.

In Calgary, special in-service courses are offered during the school year both by the continuing education branch of the faculty of Education and the public and separate school boards. These courses cover both elementary and high school French, providing help in methodology and promoting oral fluency.

In addition to these formal courses, there are occasional in-service sessions conducted by supervisors, master teachers, or special consultants. An example of a more ambitious workshop was a three-day seminar sponsored by the Edmonton separate school board prior to the 1967 school opening. Here teachers attended briefings and examined materials relating to the recently approved audio-lingual series.

The modern and classical language council of the Alberta Teachers Association is also exercising a growing influence on the improvement of language instruction. Annual conferences and local workshops with special speakers are held at various points in the province. The council publishes the *Bulletin* twice a year to inform language teachers of current developments in their field.

One novel method of providing on-the-job assistance to elementary teachers of French is used in Calgary. This consists of two series of in-service telecasts, one held in September-October and the other later in the school year. At 8.30 a.m. the teacher may turn on a television set in the classroom and spend 15 minutes

viewing lesson material and listening to a discussion of teaching procedures. In addition to the supervisor and two consultants, the panel may include classroom teachers or the directors of French at the faculty of Education. Questions raised by teachers are dealt with informally during the broadcasts.

With respect to teacher supervision, there are no departmental inspectors assigned exclusively to language classes; there is one inspector well qualified in this field who is available for consultation. Supervisors of French are found in Calgary and Edmonton. The role of department chairman is relatively new in Alberta and is usually confined to the core subjects, but French department heads are occasionally found in the larger schools.

M. British Columbia

1. Compulsory French

The study of French is compulsory for all Grade VIII students. In special circumstances, students may be excused at the discretion of the principal of the school, but less than 5 per cent of Grade VIII students are excused from the study of French.

The study of a second language, not necessarily French, is required for all students in Grades IX and X seeking to qualify for entrance to the academic-technical programme in Grades XI and XII. The completion of a second-language course numbered 11 is required of all students intending to graduate with the humanities or science specialties on this programme. Most students taking a second language elect to take French. A few students elect Latin, German, or Spanish as their second language.

2. Optional French

French 11 (Grades XI and XII) may be taken as an elective by students on the technical specialty of the academic-technical programme. French 12 can be elected by students on the academic-technical programme. Students on the vocational programme may take French courses as options, but the practice is not widespread.

Because of cases of acceleration and repetition, as well as adjustment to individual student programmes, it is not possible to give exact percentages of students taking French grade by grade. The approximate percentages are Grade VIII, 96; Grade IX, 72; Grade X, 65; Grade XI, 55; and Grade XII, 25.

Elementary schools may offer French courses with the permission of the department of Education. Some elementary schools are experimenting with oral-aural French courses, usually at the Grade VI and VII levels.

3. *Weekly time schedules*

The weekly time allotments for French instruction at the secondary school level are approximately as follows: French 8, 120 minutes; French 9 and 10, 165 to 170 minutes; and French 11 and 12, 1/7 of total instructional time. The actual instructional time is determined by the school.

4. *Aims*

The following aims for the study of French are listed in the curriculum guide for French 8, 9 and 10: to develop the ability to speak the language; to develop the comprehension of the spoken language; to develop a skill in reading; to develop an elementary skill in writing; and to stimulate an interest in and a knowledge of the culture of France and Canada.

The following is also quoted from the same curriculum guide: "It should be noted that these courses are not envisaged as being a narrowly academic and grammatically oriented study about a foreign language. It is intended to provide introductory experiences in the study of a modern living language through the use of natural situations and the experiences of hearing, speaking, reading and writing. The course develops the fundamental concept of language as a means of communicating thought."

5. *Curricula, texts, methods*

Traditional texts are prescribed in Grades VIII to XII. Curriculum guides are provided by the department of Education for each of the courses. These guides outline the course requirements and provide suggestions for teaching and testing.

6. *Articulated sequence*

The two main texts provide a fairly well-graded course of instruction for the five-year sequence.

7. *Teaching aids*

Teachers of French have the following teaching aids available to them—record players, prepared records, tape recorders, blank and prepared tapes, projectors, films, filmstrips, and film-loops. Some classes take advantage of programmes pro-

vided by the school broadcasts division. For the 1967-8 school year, a series of five radio enrichment programmes, "A propos," was offered to senior secondary classes. A second series of four programmes, entitled "Chantez," consisted of a number of songs bridged by continuity in the French language; copies of the lyrics were distributed to schools.

8. *Examinations*

Evaluation of pupil progress is the responsibility of the schools. Suggestions regarding examinations are provided in curriculum guides and circulars. Teachers are encouraged to design their testing programmes to assess pupil growth in speaking, understanding, reading, writing, and cultural knowledge.

A provincial departmental examination is provided for students not recommended in French 12 and for those students writing French 12 for a scholarship. In these cases the school rating of the student still counts for half of the student's final grade.

In 1967 the department prepared an oral-aural examination as an aid to teachers in assessing this important aspect of the French 12 course. This test, in the form of a tape recording and question sheets, was made available to schools on request and was widely used.

9. *Trends and proposed changes*

A French revision committee has been studying new French programmes. Some of these new programmes are being tried experimentally in a few classrooms in the province. At the Grade VIII level there are pilot projects involving *LE FRANÇAIS INTERNATIONAL*; *FRENCH: A STRUCTURAL APPROACH*; *ICI ON PARLE FRANÇAIS*; and *ÉCOUTER ET PARLER*. The latter, which is the first book of the audio-lingual series, was introduced in Grades VIII and XI on a permissive basis in September 1968. The course will be continued in Grades IX and XII in September 1969, and in Grade X in 1970.

10. *Teacher supply and qualifications*

The demand for properly qualified teachers of French in British Columbia far exceeds the supply, particularly for language specialists who have a good grasp of their subject, who speak the language fluently, and who are able to handle the audio-lingual method of teaching.

Because well-qualified and properly prepared teachers of French are not available in sufficient quantities, administrators must often accept teach-

ers who have had little or no university work in French and who have not been trained in second-language teaching. Certification authorities tend to encourage a disregard for specialization by refusing to write on the teacher's certificate the subject or subjects he is competent to teach. School boards in turn seldom examine a teacher's qualifications for instructing in French.

11. Teacher preparation

Teachers of French are prepared by the three major universities of the province—the University of British Columbia, the University of Victoria, and Simon Fraser University. The minimum requirements for training is an undergraduate major in French, which includes work in language and literature and which is increasingly giving attention to oral competence in the language. At the University of British Columbia, during the training year, the lectures on methodology are given in French and the student teachers are supervised in the schools by the methodology instructor as well as by the sponsor teachers. The first certi-

cate for the teacher of French is the professional basic, which is awarded after the successful completion of the five-year Bachelor of Education programme, or of the one-year training programme for arts graduates.

12. In-service training, supervision, guidance

There is no supervisor of French for British Columbia, and no provincial inspectors are specially qualified to help teachers in this field.

In-service training and guidance are provided largely by department chairmen in the bigger schools, and through numerous workshops and summer courses arranged by school districts, by the B.C. Teachers' Federation, by the University of British Columbia, and by the University of Victoria. The Provincial Specialists Association of Modern Language Teachers also publishes a newsletter. The faculty of education at the University of British Columbia produces in French an information bulletin for teachers of French and encourages teachers to write for assistance to its service bureau.

§39. L'une des idées maîtresses de cette réforme est l'instruction dans les classes de 6^e et de 5^e de l'orientation par l'observation. Les enfants ne doivent pas être contraints à poursuivre leurs études, courtes ou longues, dans tel ou tel type d'établissement selon le niveau social de leur famille ou la proximité d'un établissement secondaire déterminé, mais d'après leurs goûts et leurs aptitudes. C'est ce que l'on a appelé la « démocratisation » de l'enseignement.

§39. ... Pour la première fois dans l'histoire des institutions scolaires françaises, tous les élèves quittant l'école élémentaire se trouvent réunis dans un même établissement. D'autre part, ces établissements sont l'instrument idéal pour la mise en œuvre d'une orientation efficace, le passage d'une section à l'autre pouvant s'effectuer sans difficulté.

§65. Ce qui caractérise cette tradition classique, c'est le souci de la formation de l'esprit, l'idéal de la tête bien faite, l'habileté à manier les concepts, le goût des principes. Cet enseignement, en dépit d'une séparation entre le cours de lettres et celui de philosophie, présente *une unité assez rigoureuse dans ses méthodes et ses buts*, car les matières sont envisagées dans une perspective désintéressée de culture générale, où la préoccupation de la formation humaine intégrale a toujours eu priorité sur les programmes.

§89. Ce sont les commissions scolaires qui déterminent par l'engagement des maîtres soit de langue anglaise soit de langue française dans quelle langue l'enseignement régulier sera donné à l'école. Dans les endroits où les catholiques de langue anglaise sont en majorité, ils sont les maîtres de leurs écoles. Ni le gouvernement, ni le Département de l'Instruction publique n'interviennent dans les questions de langue, excepté pour revendiquer le droit de la minorité, qu'elle soit de langue anglaise ou de langue française.

§93. Le programme, pour toutes les autres matières, resterait, dans les écoles anglaises, le même que dans les écoles françaises.

§93. Après avoir entendu les observations de MM. Michael McManus et Gerald Coughlin, le Comité décide de laisser à la Sous-Commission de langue anglaise la liberté de préparer le programme selon sa propre conception comme le fait actuellement la Sous-

Commission de langue française. Les deux Sous-Commissions devront ensuite se rencontrer pour essayer d'établir un programme commun sur le plus grand nombre de matières possibles. Chaque Sous-Commission fera ensuite rapport à la Commission des Programmes et des Manuels, qui elle-même fera rapport au Comité catholique.

§172. ... étant généralement d'avis que le système d'éducation tel qu'il existe pour les anglophones du Québec est d'une qualité adéquate, il était normal que les porte-parole d'associations de ce groupe fussent plutôt enclins à préférer le *statu quo*.

§756. Notre peuple devait désormais affronter la domination d'une nation puissante, longtemps ennemie, animée de vifs sentiments anticatholiques, dont la politique commerciale ne pouvait guère favoriser le relèvement canadien. L'opposition d'idées, de sentiments, d'intérêts, devait nous placer dans un péril extrême pour notre survivance.

§756. La résistance à l'assimilation constitue la lutte la plus dure de notre histoire, la plus exténuante aussi parce qu'elle se prolonge toujours. Même au cours de périodes calmes, le milieu anglo-saxon qui nous entoure exerce sans cesse son action et nous force à une vigilance de tous les instants.

§757. Ce rapport de Durham aurait été à l'origine de l'Union de 1840, du gouvernement responsable de 1848, de la Confédération de 1867 et de l'union législative que l'on essaie aujourd'hui de réaliser, toutes formes de gouvernement qui favorisent, au détriment de la nationalité canadienne-française, l'expansion du nationalisme anglo-canadien.

§758. Le peuple canadien n'a ni l'homogénéité ni la culture qui lui permettraient de résister avec succès à l'absorption partielle (par l'américanisme). Entre les impérialistes anglais et les nationalistes canadiens-français se déroule toute la gamme des opinions et des sentiments. Un fossé large et profond sépare les uns des autres, catholiques et protestants, Anglais de l'Ontario, Canadiens français du Québec, Néo-Canadiens de l'ouest. La Confédération n'est qu'une froide notion juridique, pour laquelle la plupart ne manifestent aucun attachement réel.

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